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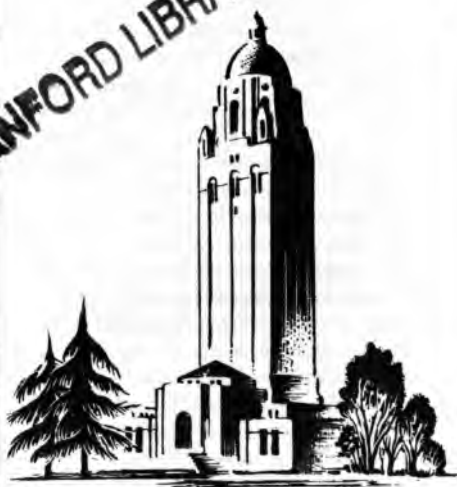
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LIBERIA

FREDERICK STARR

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LIBERIA

**DESCRIPTION
HISTORY
PROBLEMS**

**BY
FREDERICK STARR**

**CHICAGO
1913**

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S796

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By FREDERICK STARR
CHICAGO

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO
WILLIAM N. SELIG
OF CHICAGO
IN EVIDENCE OF APPRECIATION AND AS
A TOKEN OF REGARD

PREFACE

Africa has been partitioned among the nations. The little kingdom of Abyssinia, in the north, and the Republic of Liberia, upon the west coast, are all of the continent that remain in the hands of Africans. Liberia alone is in the hands of negroes. Will it remain so, or is it destined to disappear? Is it a failure? The reports which have so frequently been printed in books of travel and elementary treatises of ethnology appear almost unanimous in the assertion that it is. Yet there are those who believe that the Black Republic is far indeed from being a failure. We are not willing to admit that its history and conditions warrant the assumption that the black man is incapable of conducting an independent government. A successful Liberia would be a star of hope to the Dark Continent. In Liberian success there lies African Redemption; redemption, not only in the religious sense, but redemption economic, social, governmental. If the black men can stand alone in Liberia, he can stand alone elsewhere; if the negro is able to organize and maintain a government on the west coast, he can do the same on the east coast, and in the southern part of Africa. Africa is restless under the white man; it makes no difference whether the ruler be Portuguese, French, German, Spanish, Belgian, or English, the native is dissatisfied under the present regime. It is recognized that a spark may cause a conflagration through negro Africa. On the other hand, the colonial burden of the European governments grows heavy; the trade advantages of holding Africa might be equally gained without the expense and trouble of administration; it is mutual jealousy, not great suc-

cess, which holds the European powers in Africa. Were each convinced that withdrawal would not give advantage to other powers, that abdication would not be recognized as weakness, that free trade with black men might not result in individual national advantage, they would be quite ready to withdraw from the Dark Continent. In every colony the native is advancing; education becomes more general; it must continue to diffuse itself, and with diffusion of knowledge among the natives, restlessness will be increased; the colonial burden will become heavier,—not lighter. If Liberia prospers, it will stand as an example of what black men can do to all the other negro populations of the continent; its example would stimulate advance for all; the sight of enterprises originating with negroes and carried out by them would give heart and stimulus to negroes everywhere. This does not mean that all the European colonies should necessarily become republics; far from it. Nor would it mean, unless the home governments were blind and ignorant, a necessary severance between the mother country and its colonies; it would, however, lead to a great measure of home rule and to a large development of self-government. Wauwermans, years ago, recognized the powerful influence which a successful Liberia must needs exert. He says: "From this little state, the size of Belgium, whose population does not surpass, including the natives, a fifth part of the population of our country, will go forth perhaps some day the best imaginable missionaries to extend over the Black Continent the benefits of civilization and to found the free United States of Africa, sufficiently powerful to defy the covetousness of white men and to make justice reign, so far as it *can* reign among men."

One of the most thoughtful writers regarding the Republic is Delafosse who, for a time, was French Consul at Monrovia. He has written upon Liberia on various occasions, and what he says always deserves consideration. On the whole he is not a hostile critic,

having a rather friendly feeling toward Liberians and being deeply interested in the Republic. We translate some passages from his writings, as his point of view is original. He says: "If one consider the Liberians superficially—civilized, clad, knowing how to read and write, living in relatively comfortable houses,—one will probably find them superior to the natives. Actually, they are rather inferior to them, as well from the moral point of view as from the point of view of general well-being."

Further on he says: "First, along the coast and in the east, we see the Krumen, a race of workers, energetic, proud, and fighters, but honest, rejoicing in a fine physical and moral health, jealous of the virtue of their women, of a most careful cleanliness. What a contrast do they make by the side of the idle and non-chalant Liberians, expecting everything from the State, subject to every kind of congenital disease, and in particular to tuberculosis, never washing themselves, nourishing themselves with food which a native slave would not accept, decimated by a considerable mortality, having generally very few children, of whom, moreover, the greater part are born scrawny, weak, devoted beforehand to an early death!

If we cast our eyes upon the natives of the west and north, the Vai and other tribes of the Mandingo race, it is a different grade of comparison which offers itself to us, but always to the disadvantage of the Liberians. These natives half islamized, have, much more than the Liberians, the sentiment of human dignity, and their costume, fitted to the climate and the race, far from rendering them ridiculous, as the European does the Liberians, is not devoid of a certain æsthetic character. They have, the Vai and the Manienka, above all, a superior intelligence of commercial affairs. The Vai have even a self-civilization which makes this little tribe one of the most interesting peoples of Africa; alone, of all the negroes known, they possess an alphabet suited to the writing of their language, and this alphabet, which they have completely in-

vented themselves, has no relationship with any other known alphabet. A Vai native named Momolu Massaquoi has just established at Ghendimah, not far from the Anglo-Liberian boundary, a sort of model village, and in this village, a school where he proposes to teach the language and the literature of his country. I do not know what is the result of this attempt, but it seems to me interesting, being an attempt purely indigenous in character toward perfectionment, attempted alongside of the effort toward perfectionment by adaptation of European civilization which has so badly succeeded in Liberia."

Again, after having given an attractive description of the first impression made upon the stranger by Liberia and its inhabitants, our author proceeds to say: "Now, the spectacle which offers itself to the eyes of the visitor is less beautiful. It is the spectacle of a nation in decadence. And this fact of a nation not yet a century old which, starting from nothing, raised itself in twenty years to its apogee, and has commenced, at the end of barely sixty years, to fall into decay, this fact, I say, deserves that one should pause, for at first sight it is not natural. And it can only find its explanation in the theory which I attempt to develop here, to wit: That the negroes in general, and the Liberians in particular, are eminently susceptible of perfectionment and progress, but that this perfectionment and this progress are destined to a sudden check, and even to a prompt decadence, if one has sought to orient them in the direction of our European civilization.

I have said that the spectacle which offers itself today to the eyes of the visitor is that of a nation in decadence. In fact, the beautiful broad streets cut at the beginning still exist, but they are invaded by vegetation and guttered by deep gullies which the rains have cut and which one does not trouble to fill up; the enclosing walls about the different properties are half destroyed, without any one's seeking to repair them; a mass of houses in ruin take away

from the smiling and attractive aspect of the city; even houses in process of construction are in ruins; a superb college building erected at great expense upon the summit of the cape, is abandoned, and one permits it to be invaded by the forest and weathered by the rain; the stairway which leads to the upper story of Representatives' Hall, having crumbled, has never been reconstructed, and a sort of provisional flight of steps has been for years back the only means of access which permits the cabinet officers to enter their offices; the landings waste away stone by stone, and it is difficult to draw boats up to them; the shops where one formerly constructed vessels and landing-boats, have disappeared; roads, from lack of care, have almost everywhere become native trails again; the plantations of sugar-cane and ginger are matters of ancient history, and fields, which formerly were well cultivated, have returned to the state of virgin forest; coffee plantations have run wild, choked by the rank vegetation of the tropics. The level of instruction has lowered, the new generations receive only an education of primary grade; of the University of Monrovia there remains only the name and some mortarboard caps which one at times sees upon the heads of professors and candidates.

All, however, is not dead in the Republic. There is yet a nucleus of Liberians of the ancient time, remarkably instructed and civilized, excellent orators, fine conversationalists, writers of talent. There are also among the young people some choice minds, who desire to elevate the intellectual and moral level of their country and who seek to do so by published articles, by lectures, by literary clubs, and by new schools."

There is much food for thought in these statements of Delafosse. Some of his arraignment is true; on the whole, it is less true to-day than when he wrote. There was a period when the Liberians were quite discouraged and things were neglected. Much of this neglect still exists. It would be possible to-day to

find houses falling to ruins, crumbling walls, guttered streets, unsatisfactory landing-places. But a new energy is rising; the effects of efforts put forth by the nucleus which Delafosse himself recognizes as existing in Liberia are being felt; contact with the outside world with its stimulus, sympathies, and friendships, warrants the hope that the future Liberia will surpass the past. We make no attempt to answer Delafosse in detail; in the body of our book most of the questions raised by his remarks are discussed with some fullness.

In this book we attempt to represent the negro republic as it is—Description, History, Problems. We have desired to paint a just picture; some may think it too favorable; to such we would say that, when there have been so many unfair, unjust, and biased statements, it is necessary that some one should say things that are favorable, so that they be true. We have no right to demand more from Liberia than we would expect from any white colony with everything in its favor; yet that is precisely what everybody does. We demand perfection. We forget that perfection is not yet attained in any country, among people of any color. It is unreasonable to demand it in a small African republic of black men. There is no fairness even in comparing Liberia with English and French colonies like Sierra Leone and Senegal. They have had much done for them. The financial resources, the trained forces, the wise judgment of rich and powerful nations have aided them. Liberia has worked alone, blindly, in poverty.

While to some we may seem to paint an unduly favorable picture, it is probable that Liberians will claim that we have dragged some things to light which should be left unmentioned. We have mentioned many of the weaknesses of Liberia and her people. This has been done for several reasons. It is a good thing to "see ourselves as others see us"; the weak points of Liberia are always emphasized by critics, they can not well be ignored by friends. If we are to

improve, we must clearly realize the opportunity and necessity for improvement. The worst things, after all, about Liberia are largely *inherent* in its form of government, or are due to the descent of the Americo-Liberians from American slaves. They must fight against these inherent dangers and tendencies of democratic government and against the disadvantages of American inheritance, as we do.

From time to time, in reading, we have gathered a considerable number of quotations from Liberians, past and present, which seem to us of special interest and pertinence. These we have prefaced to the chapters and sub-divisions of our book. They are all expressions of black men regarding their home and problems. Some of them are eloquent, all of them are sensible. Thoughtful Liberians have never been blind to national dangers, national weaknesses, national problems.

The materials which we present have been culled from many sources; the book contains little that is absolutely new. For its preparation we have read double the literature which has been found mentioned in bibliographies and in books treating of Liberia. We have made constant use of Johnston, Wauwer-mans, Delafosse, Jore, and Stockwell. As the book is meant for general reading, we have made no precise references. This is not due to neglect of writers and sources, but is in the nature of our treatment. We present no bibliography; it would be easy to fill pages with the titles of books and articles, dealing with Liberia, but such a list would be mere pedantry here, especially as four-fifths of the works named would be absolutely inaccessible even to students with the best library equipment at their disposition. The author has made a considerable collection of pamphlets printed in Liberia, by Liberian authors, dealing with Liberian matters. A list of these almost unknown prints would have real interest for the special student of Liberian affairs and for professional

librarians; such a list may perhaps be printed later, in separate form.

Thanks are due to so many friends and helpers that it is impossible to make individual acknowledgment. We were treated with great courtesy, while in Liberia; from President Howard in the Executive Mansion to the school children upon the village streets, every one was kind. It was generally recognized that the author was a white visitor to the Republic without a personal axe to grind. He represented no government, no commission, no institution, was seeking no concession, had no mission—a *rara avis* truly. While it would be impossible to name all from whom kindness and courtesy were received—for that would be an enumeration of all we met—we may perhaps mention as particularly kind Ex-President Barclay, F. E. R. Johnson, T. McCants Stewart, C. B. Dunbar, Bishop Ferguson and Vice-President Harmon. To Major Charles Young, military attaché to the American Legation, we are under greater obligations than we can mention. Campbell Marvin was our companion and helper throughout our visit to the Republic, and gave us faithful aid in every way. We dedicate the book to William N Selig, of Chicago, whose kindness and interest made the expedition possible.

The book is written in the hope of arousing some interest in Liberia and its people and of kindling sympathy with them in the effort they are making to solve their problems. For Liberia is the hope of the Dark Continent. Through her, perhaps, African Redemption is to come.

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LIBERIA

A more fertile soil, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not, we believe, on the face of the earth. Its hills and its plains are covered with a verdure which never fades; the productions of nature keep on in their growth through all the seasons of the year. Even the natives of the country, almost without farming tools, without skill, and with very little labor, raise more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell. Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats, and sheep, thrive without feeding, and require no other care than to keep them from straying. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and the sugar cane, are all the spontaneous growth of our forests, and may be cultivated at pleasure, to any extent, by such as are disposed. The same may be said of rice, Indian corn, Guinea corn, millet, and too many species of fruits and vegetables to be enumerated. Add to all this, we have no dreary winter here, for one-half of the year to consume the productions of the other half. Nature is constantly renewing herself, and constantly pouring her treasures, all the year round, into the laps of the industrious.—ADDRESS BY LIBERIANS: 1827.

DESCRIPTION

PHYSIOGRAPHY—1. There are various inherent difficulties in African Geography. The population of the Dark Continent is composed of an enormous number of separate tribes, each with its own name, each with its own language. Most of these tribes are small and occupy but small areas. For a mountain, or other conspicuous natural landmark, each tribe will have its own name. What name is given by a traveler to the feature will be a matter of accident, depending upon the tribe among which he may be at the time that he inquires about the name; different names may thus be easily applied to the same place, and confusion of course results. Even within the

limits of a single tribe different names in the one language may be applied to the same place; thus, it is regular for rivers to have different names in different parts of their course; it is nothing uncommon for the same river to have four or five names among the people of a single tribe, for this reason. Throughout Negro Africa, towns are generally called by the name of the chief; when he dies, the name of the town changes, that of the new chief being assumed. Again, throughout Africa, towns change location frequently; they may be rebuilt upon almost the same spot as they before occupied, or they may be placed in distant and totally new surroundings. For all these reasons, it is difficult to follow the itinerary of any traveler a few years after his report has been published. All these difficulties exist in Liberia, as in other parts of Africa. More than that, Liberia has itself been sadly neglected by explorers. Few expeditions into the interior have been so reported as to give adequate information. Sir Harry Johnston says that the interior of Liberia is the "least known part of Africa."

2. Liberia is situated on the west coast of Africa, in the western part of what on old maps was known as Upper Guinea. Both Upper and Lower Guinea have long been frequented by European traders; different parts of the long coast line have received special names according to the natural products which form their characteristic feature in trade; thus we have the Grain Coast, Ivory Coast, Slave Coast, Gold Coast. Liberia is the same as the old Grain Coast and was so called because from it were taken the grains of "Malagueta Pepper," once a notable import in Europe. Liberia has a coast line of some 350 miles, from the Mano River on the west to the Caballa River on the east and includes the country extending from 7° 33' west to 11° 32' west longitude, and from 4° 22' north to 8° 50' north latitude. Its area is approximately 43,000 square miles—a little more than that of the state of Ohio.

3. The coast of Liberia is for the most part low and singularly uninteresting. Throughout most of its extent a rather narrow sandy beach is exposed to an almost continuous beating of surf; there is not a single good natural harbor; where rivers enter the sea there is regularly a dangerous bar; here and there, ragged reefs of rocks render entrance difficult. There is no place where vessels actually attempt to make an entrance; they regularly anchor at a considerable distance from the shore and load and unload by means of canoes and small boats sent out from the towns. At Cape Mount near the western limit of the country a promontory rises to a height of 1068 feet above the sea. It is the most striking feature of the whole coast. There is no other until Cape Mesurado, upon which the city of Monrovia stands; it is a notable cliff, but rises only to a height of 290 feet. At Bafu Point, east of the Sanguin River, there is a noticeable height. These three, diminishing from west to east, are the only three actual interruptions in the monotonous coast line.

4. Five-sixths of the total area of the Republic is covered with a forest, dense even for the tropics. Almost everywhere this forest comes close down to the sandy beach and the impression made upon the traveler who sails along the coast is one of perpetual verdure. The highest lands are found in the east half of the country. In the region of the Upper Caballa River just outside of Liberia, French authorities claim that Mount Druple rises to a height of 3000 meters. The same authorities claim that the highest point of the Nimba Mountains, which occurs within the limits of Liberia, is about 2000 meters (6560 feet). Further south is the Satro-Nidi-Kelipo mass of highlands bordering the Caballa basin on the southwest; Sir Harry Johnson claims that it offers nothing more than 4000 feet in height. Northeast of the Caballa are Gamutro and Duna which rise to 5000 feet. There are no heights comparable to these found in the western half of the Republic,

though there are peaks of significance among the upper waters of the St. Paul's River and its tributaries. In the lower half of this river's course there is a hilly or mountainous region known as the Po Hills, where possible heights of 3000 feet may be reached. In the northwestern part of the country the forest gives way to the Mandingo Plateau, high grass-land. Benjamin Anderson, a Liberian explorer, says that he emerged from the forest at Bulota where the ground rose to the height of 2253 feet. This plateau region is open park-like country of tall grass with few trees.

Very little as yet is known of the geology of Liberia. On the whole, its rocks appear to be ancient metamorphic rocks—gneiss, granulite, amphibolite, granites, pegmatite, all abundantly intersected by quartz veins. Decomposition products from these rocks overlie most of the country. The material and structure of the coast region is concealed by deposits of recent alluvium and the dense growth of forest; a conspicuous lithological phenomenon is laterite which covers very considerable areas and is the result of the disintegration of gneiss. As yet little is known of actual mineral values. Gold certainly occurs; magnetite and limonite appear to be widely distributed and are no doubt in abundant quantity; copper, perhaps native, certainly in good ores, occurs in the western part of the country; various localities of corundum are known, and it is claimed that rubies of good quality have been found; companies have been organized for the mining of diamonds, and it is claimed that actual gems are obtained.

5. There are many rivers in Liberia and the country is well watered. Several of these rivers are broad in their lower reaches, but they are extremely variable in depth and are generally shallow. Few of them are navigable to any distance from their mouth, and then only by small boats; thus the St. Paul's can be ascended only to a distance of about twenty miles, the Dukwia to a distance of thirty (but along a very

winding course, so that one does not anywhere reach a great distance from the coast), the Sinoe for fifteen miles, but by canoes, the Caballa (the longest of all Liberian rivers) to eighty miles.

A notable feature in the physiography of Liberia is the great number of sluggish lagoons or wide rivers, shallow, running parallel to the coast behind long and narrow peninsulas or spits of sand; there are so many of these that they practically form a continuous line of lagoons lying behind the sandy beach. These lagoons open onto the sea at the mouths of the more important rivers; smaller rivers in considerable numbers enter them so that in reality almost every river-mouth in Liberia may be considered not the point of entrance of a single river, but of a cluster of rivers which have opened into a common reservoir and made an outlet through one channel. As good examples of these curious lagoons, we may mention from west to east the Sugari River, Fisherman's Lake, Stockton Creek, Mesurado Lagoon, Junk River, etc., etc.

Inasmuch as the rivers are the best known features of Liberian geography, and as they determine all its other details, we shall present here a complete list of them, in their order from west to east, together with a few observations concerning the more important.

Mano—Mannah: Bewa, in its upper course; the western boundary of the country; flows through a dense forest; no town at its mouth; not navigable to any distance; Gene, a trading village, twenty miles up; Liberian settlements a few miles east of the mouth. **Shuguri, (Sugary),** Sugari, only a few miles in length; extends toward the southeast, parallel to the coast.

Behind the peninsula upon which Cape Mount stands is a lagoon called Fisherman's Lake, which parallels the coast for a distance of ten miles; this shallow, brackish, lagoon is about six miles wide at its widest part, and is nowhere more than twelve or thirteen

feet in depth; it is so related to the Marphy and Sugari Rivers that it is said of them, "These rivers with Fisherman's Lake have a common outlet, across which the surf breaks heavily"; where these three water bodies enter the sea by a narrow mouth there is but three feet depth of water.

Half Cape Mount River, Little Cape Mount River, Lofa (in its upper part). Of considerable length; in the dry season a bank of sand closes its mouth; the village of Half Cape Mount is here.

Po, Poba. Small stream eight miles from last; here are the Vai village of Digby and the Liberian settlement of Royesville.

St. Paul's, De; Diani, further up. This great river, the second of Liberia, rises on the Mandingo Plateau, about 8° 55' north latitude; it is perhaps 280 miles long; it receives several important tributaries. There is a bar at its mouth, and it is not directly entered from the sea; it is navigable, after once being entered through Stockton Creek, to White Plains, about twenty miles from its mouth.

Mesurado River (Mesurado Lagoon) enters the sea at Monrovia and lies behind the high ridge on which that town is built. Through the same mouth with it Stockton Creek enters the sea, and through Stockton Creek, which runs across to the St. Paul's, the latter is accessible for boats from Monrovia and the sea, although at low water there is but two feet of depth. At White Plains the St. Paul's River is broken by rapids which occur at intervals for a distance of about seventy miles. Above these rapids it is probably possible to ascend the St. Paul's and its tributary Tuma, Toma, might be navigable for a combined distance of about 150 miles. There are many Liberian settlements on the lower St. Paul's River, and it is said that "quite half the Americo-Liberian population is settled in a region between Careysburg and the coast."

Junk River parallels the coast and nearly reaches Mesurado Lagoon; a long, winding tidal creek; at

its mouth three streams really enter the sea together—the Junk, Dukwia, and Farmington. On account of the near approach of this river to the Mesurado Lagoon, Monrovia is almost on an island thirty miles long and three miles wide, surrounded by the Mesurado, Junk, and the sea.

Dukwia. Very winding; navigable for thirty miles; source unknown; at its mouth is the settlement of Marshall; one of the worst bars of the coast is here.

Little Bassa, Farmington. As already stated, enters the sea together with the Junk and the Dukwia.

Mecklin, Mecklin. A small stream.

St. John's, Hartford.

Benson, Bisso (Bissaw). The Mecklin, St. John's, and Benson enter the sea by a common mouth. At or near this mouth are Edina, Upper Buchanan, Lower Buchanan—the latter at a fair harbor, though with a bad bar.

Little Kulloh, Kurrah. Small, but accessible to boats.

Tembo.

Fen.

Mannah.

Cestos, Cess. A considerable river, rising probably in the Satro Mountains, close to the basin of the Cavalla; very bad bar—rocks in the middle and only three feet of water.

Pua.

Pobama.

New.

Bruni.

Sanguin. Of some size; rises in the Nidi Mountains; entrance beset with rocks; though the bar here is bad, there is a depth of nine or ten feet of water, and a promising port might be developed.

Baffni.

Tubo, Tuba.

Sinu, Sinoe, San Vincenzo, Rio Dulce. Savage rocks, bad bar; Greenville is located at the mouth; canoes

can ascend for about 15 miles; rises in the Niete or Nidi Mountains, close to the Cavalla watershed. There are three channels by which boats may enter this river. Here again we have long narrow lagoons paralleling the coast and with a mere strip of land between them and the sea. Going from the west toward the east we find the Blubara Creek and the Sinoe entering with them. The Blubara Creek is supplied by two streams, the

Bluba and the

Plassa.

Uro.

Dru. A stream of some magnitude.

Esereus, Baddhu, Dewa, Escravos. It rises in or near the Niete Mountains, not far from the sources of the Sinoe and Grand Sesters.

Ferruma, near Sasstown.

Grand Sesters. Empties into a lagoon nearly three miles in length.

Garraway, Garawe, Try. Accessible at all times to canoes and boats. Within the next eight miles there are three small streams,

Gida.

Dia—with a rock reef stretching out from it.

Mano.

Hoffman. Another lagoon-river, which forms Cape Palmas harbor; it is one hundred yards wide at its entrance to the sea. The town of Harper is situated upon it.

Cavalla; Yubu (in its upper part); also Diugu or Duyu. The largest river of the country; forms the boundary with French possessions; very bad bar; goods going up the river are landed at Harper and sent across the lagoon which parallels the Atlantic for nine miles and is separated from it only by a narrow strip of land; navigable for small steam vessels for about fifty miles; boats of considerable size ascend to a distance of eighty miles; it rises in the Nimba Mountains at about 8° north latitude; it receives a number of important tributaries.

There are no true lakes in Liberia, although the name "lake" is rather frequently applied to the brackish lagoons so often referred to. Thus we hear of Fisherman's Lake, Sheppard Lake, etc.

6. We have already mentioned that there are no natural harbors of any value in Liberia; boats anchor at a considerable distance from the beach, and all loading and landing is done by means of small boats or canoes; at all points there is a dangerous bar, and it is a common thing for boats to be capsized in crossing it.

There are almost no islands of any consequence off the coast. There are indeed many masses of land included in the networks of river-mouths and lagoons, but they are not usually thought of as being islands. There are also many rocky islets and reefs along the coast, particularly from the mouth of the River Cestos eastward. Such, however, are mere masses of bare and jagged rocks. Of actual islands to which names have been given, four are best known, two of which are in Montserrado County and two in Maryland County. Bushrod Island, named from Bushrod Washington, the first president of the American Colonization Society, is a large, cultivable island near Monrovia, surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the St. Paul's River, and Stockton Creek. A very small island in the Mesurado, known as Providence or Perseverance Island, is interesting as having been at one time the only land occupied by the colonists. Garawé Island, also called Old Garawé, at the mouth of the Garawé River, is about three miles long. Russwurm, or Dead Island, lies in the Atlantic, opposite Cape Palmas, with about two hundred feet of water between it and the mainland; it measures about 700 by 120 yards; the name Dead Island is due to the fact that the aborigines buried their dead here.

7. The climate of Liberia is very imperfectly known. Our most recent data are derived from Sir Harry Johnston, the best informant on all scientific matters. He states that there is probably a marked difference between the climate of the forest region

and that of the Mandingo Plateau. In the forest region the dry season is short; it is the hottest period of the year and includes the months of December, January, and February; February is the hottest and driest month of the year and the temperature ranges from 55° at night to 100° in the shade at midday. During the wet season the daily range is almost nothing; the constant temperature stands at about 75°. The coolest month of the year is August with a day temperature of 69° and a night temperature of 65°. Upon the Mandingo Plateau the annual rainfall is believed to be not more than from 60 to 70 inches; the dry season extends from November to May; during that time the vegetation is parched; the nights are cool, becoming cold with an altitude of 3000 feet; the hottest time of the year is at the beginning and end of the rainy season when the thermometer may mark more than 100° at midday.

8. On the whole, we still have nothing better in regard to the climate than the description given by Dr. Lugenbeel in 1850. He traces the characteristics of the weather through the year month by month. He says:

“January is usually the driest, and one of the warmest months in the year. Sometimes, during this month, no rain at all falls; but generally there are occasional slight showers, particularly at night. Were it not for the sea-breeze, which prevails with almost uninterrupted regularity, during the greater part of the day, on almost every day throughout the year, the weather would be exceedingly oppressive, during the first three or four months of the year. As it is, the oppressiveness of the rays of the tropical sun, is greatly mitigated by the cooling breezes from the ocean; which usually blow from about 10 o'clock A. M. to about 10 o'clock P. M., the land-breezes occupying the remainder of the night and morning; except for an hour or two about the middle of the night, and about an hour in the forenoon. During these intervals, the atmosphere is sometimes very oppressive.

The regularity of the sea-breeze, especially during the month of January, is sometimes interrupted by the longer continuance of the land-breeze, which occasionally does not cease blowing until 2 or 3 o'clock P. M. This is what is called the harmattan wind; about which a great deal has been written; but which does not generally fully accord with the forced descriptions of hasty observers or copyists.

The principal peculiarity of the harmattan wind consists in its drying properties, and its very sensible coolness, especially early in the morning. It seldom, perhaps never, continues during the whole day; and usually not much longer than the ordinary land-breeze, at other times in the year. When this wind blows pretty strongly, the leaves and covers of books sometimes curl, as if they had been placed near a fire; the seams of furniture, and of wooden vessels sometimes open considerably, and the skin of persons sometimes feels peculiarly dry and unpleasant, in consequence of the rapid evaporation of both the sensible and the insensible perspiration. But these effects are usually by no means so great as they have been represented to be. What is generally called the harmattan season usually commences about the middle of December, and continues until the latter part of February. During this time, especially during the month of January, the atmosphere has a smoky appearance, similar to what is termed Indian summer in the United States, but generally more hazy.

The average height of the mercury in the thermometer, during the month of January, is about 85°, it seldom varies more than 10°, during the 24 hours of the day; and usually it does not vary more than 4° between the hours of 10 A. M. and 10 P. M. During this month, however, I have seen the mercury stand at the lowest mark, at which I ever observed it, in Liberia, that is, at 68°. This was early in the morning during the prevalence of a very strong land-breeze. During this month I have also seen the mercury stand at the highest mark, at which I ever

observed it—that is, at 90° . The air is sometimes uncomfortably cool, before 8 o'clock A. M., during this month.

During the month of *February* the weather is generally similar to that of January. There are, however, usually more frequent showers of rain; and sometimes, towards the close of this month, slight tornadoes are experienced. The harmattan haze generally disappears about the last of this month; and the atmosphere becomes clear. The range of the thermometer is about the same as in January.

March is perhaps the most trying month in the year to the constitutions of new-comers. The atmosphere is usually very oppressive during this month—the sun being nearly vertical. The occasional showers of rain, and the slight tornadoes, which occur in this month, do not usually mitigate the oppressiveness of the atmosphere, as might be supposed. The variation in the state of the atmosphere, as indicated by the thermometer, seldom exceeds 6° during the whole of this month. The average height of the mercury is about 85° .

April is significantly called the 'tornado month,' the most numerous and most violent tornadoes usually occurring during this month. The ordinary state of the weather, in reference to the degree of heat, and its influence on the system, is not very different from that of the three preceding months. The showers of rain are usually more frequent, however; and the visitations of those peculiar gusts, called *tornadoes*, are much more common in April, than in any other month. These are sudden, and sometimes violent gusts, which occur much more frequently at night, than during the day. Although they usually approach suddenly and rapidly, yet certain premonitory evidences of their approach are almost always presented, which are generally easily recognized by persons who have frequently observed them. They generally commence from northeast, or east-northeast, and rapidly

shift around to nearly southeast; by which time the storm is at its height.

At the commencement of a tornado, dark clouds appear above the eastern horizon, which rapidly ascend, until a dense looking mass spreads over the whole hemisphere. As the heavy mass of clouds ascends and spreads, the roaring sound of the wind becomes stronger and louder, until suddenly it bursts forth in its fury; sometimes seeming as if it would sweep away every opposing object. Very seldom, however, is any material injury sustained from these violent gusts. The scene is sometimes awfully grand, for fifteen or twenty minutes, during the formation and continuance of a heavy tornado. Sometimes the whole hemisphere presents a scene of the deepest gloom; the darkness of which is momentarily illuminated by vivid flashes of lightning, in rapid succession; and sometimes tremendous peals of thunder burst upon the solemn stillness of the scene. The rain seldom falls, until the violence of the gust begins to subside; when a torrent of rain usually pours down for a short time, seldom more than half an hour; after which, the wind shifts around towards the west; and generally, in about an hour from the commencement of the tornado, the sky becomes serene, and sometimes almost cloudless.

The weather during the month of *May* is usually more pleasant, than during the two preceding months. The atmosphere is generally not quite so warm and oppressive. Sometimes copious and protracted showers of rain fall, during the latter half of this month; so that the beginning of the rainy season usually occurs in this month. Tornadoes also occasionally appear, during the month of *May*. The average height of the mercury in the thermometer is usually two or three degrees less, than during the four preceding months.

June is perhaps the most rainy month in the year. More or less rain usually falls nearly every day or night in this month. Although there are sometimes

clear and pleasant days in June; yet, there are seldom twenty-four successive hours of entire freedom from rain. The sun is, however, seldom entirely obscured for a week at a time; and he frequently shines out brightly and pleasantly, in the interstices between the floating clouds, several times during the day; occasionally for several hours at a time. During this month, as during all the other rainy months, more rain always falls at night than in the day time; and, indeed, there are very few days in the year, in which the use of an umbrella may not be dispensed with some time during the ordinary business hours. In the month of June, the atmosphere is always considerably cooler than during the preceding month; and I have generally found it necessary to wear woolen outer as well as under garments; and to sleep beneath thick covering at night, in order to be comfortably warm. The sensible perspiration is always much less, during the month, and the five succeeding months, than during the other six months in the year. The mercury in the thermometer seldom rises above 80° in this month, the average height being about 75°.

During the months of *July* and *August*, a great deal of rain also generally falls; but perhaps less in both these months than in the preceding month. There is always a short season of comparatively dry, and very pleasant weather, in one or both of these months. This season usually continues from three to five weeks; and generally commences about the 20th or 25th of July. Sometimes, for several successive days, the sun shines brilliantly and pleasantly all day; and no rain falls at night. The air, however, is always refreshingly cool and agreeable. This is perhaps the most pleasant time in the year. This is what is commonly called 'the middle dries.' It seems as if Providence has specially ordered this temporary cessation of the rains, for the purpose of permitting the ripening and gathering of the crops of rice, which are generally harvested in August.

September and *October* are also generally very rainy months; especially the former. Sometimes more rain falls in *September*, than in any other month in the year. Towards the close of *October*, rains begin to be less copious; and sometimes slight tornadoes appear, indicative of the cessation of the rainy season. The sea-breezes are usually very strong, during these two months; and the atmosphere is generally uniformly cool, and invigorating to the physical system.

During the month of *November* the weather is generally very pleasant, the temperature of the atmosphere being agreeable to the feelings—not so cool as during the five preceding months, and not so warm as during the five succeeding months, the average height of the mercury in the thermometer being about 82°. Frequent showers of rain usually fall during this month, both in the day and at night; but generally they are of short duration. Slight tornadoes also generally appear in this month. The sun may usually be seen during a part of every day in the month; and frequently he is not obscured by clouds, during the whole of the time in which he is above the horizon. The middle of this month may be regarded as the beginning of the dry season.

December is also generally a very pleasant month. Occasional slight showers of rain fall during this month, sometimes several sprinklings in one day, but seldom for more than a few minutes at a time. The mornings in this month are peculiarly delightful. The sun usually rises with brilliancy and beauty; and the hills and groves, teeming with the verdure of perpetual spring, are enriched by the mingled melody of a thousand cheerful songsters. Nothing that I have ever witnessed in the United States exceeds the loveliness of a *December* morning in *Liberia*."

9. Closely related to climate is health. Here again we have no better information than that supplied us by Dr. Lugenbeel. He asserts that "the rainy season is decidedly more conducive to health than the

dry season in both new-comers and old settlers. The oppressiveness of the atmosphere and the enervating effects of the weather, during the dry season, tend to debilitate the physical system, and thereby to render it more susceptible of being affected. Persons who arrive in Liberia during this season are more liable to attacks of fever than those who arrive during the rainy season." Monrovia is usually ranked with Freetown as being unusually unhealthy; conditions have, however, considerably improved and are by no means so bad as in the early days. All new-comers, white and black alike, must undergo the acclimating fever, but on the whole, blacks seem to suffer least. Remittent and intermittent fevers, diarrhoea and dysentery are among the more common and serious diseases. Rheumatism occurs, though it is rarely violent either in a chronic or acute form; dropsical affections are rather common, often due to debility after fever; enlargement of the liver and spleen are common, the latter being most frequent in whites and mulattoes, and usually following upon fevers; the most common eruptive diseases are measles and erysipelas—both mild; varioloid, though common, is rarely fatal; flatulent colics are common; slight scratches and abrasions give rise readily to ulcers, more common in whites and mulattoes than in blacks. Leprosy is occasional among natives. Curious local diseases are *craw* and *yaws*, both endemic cutaneous troubles. The famous sleeping sickness, the scourge of Africa, is more frequent among natives than among the Americo-Liberians, but it has long been known in that region. The list sounds like a long and dreadful one, but is, after all, far from appalling. Dr. Lugenbeel says: "Some other diseases, which are common to most countries, may be occasionally observed in Liberia; but the variety is much less than in the United States; and except in some old chronic affections, in broken down constitutions, convalescence is generally much more rapid; in consequence of the less violence of the attack. Among

the many attacks of fever, which I experienced, I never was obliged to remain in my room more than a week, at any one time; and I very seldom was confined to my bed longer than twenty-four hours. The danger in new-comers generally consists more in the frequency than in the violence of the attacks of sickness. And the majority of colored immigrants, who have sufficient prudence to use such means for the preservation of good health in Liberia as enlightened judgment would dictate, usually enjoy as good health, after the first year of their residence, as they formerly enjoyed in the United States. In some cases, indeed, the state of the health of the immigrant is decidedly improved by the change of residence from America to Africa." In another place, he says: "In some cases, persons who might have enjoyed tolerable health in the United States, die very soon after their arrival in Liberia, in consequence of the physical system not being sufficiently vigorous to undergo the necessary change, in order to become adapted to the climate. Hence the impropriety of persons emigrating to Liberia whose constitutions have become much impaired by previous diseases, by intemperance, or otherwise. And hence the necessity of missionary societies being careful to guard the physical as well as the moral qualifications of persons who offer themselves as missionaries to Africa."

10. So far as concerns the flora of the country, four different types present themselves. The beach, the river-swamp, the forest, the grass-lands present their characteristic forms of plant-life. Five-sixths of the Republic are covered with the densest tropical forest; an enormous variety of gigantic trees grow closely crowded together and are bound by a tangle of vines and creeping plants into an almost impenetrable mass. Nowhere perhaps in the world is there a more typical tropical forest. The lower reaches of the rivers are bordered by a thicket of mangroves and pandanus, the former by its curious mode of growth—throwing downward from its branches almost vertical aerial roots which reach the water and

strike down into the soft, oozy mud of the river-bottom—stretching far out from the banks themselves over the stream. Among the notable trees of Liberia are mahogany, ebony, and other valuable timber trees; camwood is abundant, and was formerly an object of important export for dyeing purposes; coffee grows wild and is of fine quality; there are various gum-producing trees, among them that which yields the gum arabic; the kola nut is common and has long been exported from the Grain Coast; there are various rubber-producing plants—the *funtumia* and *landolphia*, the two most prized rubber-plants of Africa, occur abundantly—the former being a tree, the latter a vine; palms of many species occur; among them are the borassus or fan-palm, the calamus or climbing palm, the oil palm, a raphia, commonly known as the bamboo palm, which yields palm wine and the precious piassava fibre; notable is the great cotton-tree, which is considered sacred by the natives, no doubt on account of its strange appearance, due to enormous, thin, buttressing roots. There are flowers everywhere; water-lilies are common in the swamps, and lovely epiphytic orchids bloom upon the forest trees.

11. The fauna is especially interesting because it presents an ancient facies, more like that of a by-gone age than of the present. In fact Sir Harry Johnston refers to it as being of the Miocene type. There are at least a dozen species of apes and monkeys, among which the most interesting is the chimpanzee; there are many species of bats of all sizes, some being insectivorous and others eating fruits; there are a variety of wild cats, including the leopard, and the natives make a specialty of killing them for their spotted skins; two species of mongoose are found; the red river hog is abundant; four species of manis, with curious overlapping scales, able to roll themselves up into a ball something like an armadillo, are among the curious forms; the most interesting animal in the fauna perhaps is the water chevrotain, a creature of no great size, but which

presents a curious intermediate or connecting form between the pig and camel on the one side and the deer, giraffe, and antelope on the other; true antelopes are numerous in many species, some of which are dainty little creatures; the buffalo, perhaps the most dangerous animal of Africa, occurs; elephants are still found, and ever since the traders first visited the Grain Coast, ivory has been to some degree exported; the most famous of Liberian animals, however, is the pygmy hippopotamus, just like the larger species, but weighing perhaps only four hundred pounds when fully grown.

12. Bird-life, too, is abundant. There are naturally great numbers of water birds, both swimmers and waders—such as egrets and other herons, ibis, and the strange finfoot; hornbills are common; eagles and vultures occur; one of the commonest and most striking of the birds is the black and white crow; brilliant of plumage is the plantain-eater, but the parrots of the country are dull and inconspicuous. Of reptiles there are plenty. The python is the largest snake, and grows to a length of thirty feet; there are many species of serpents, including ten which are poisonous; lizards are common, among them the chameleon with its varying color and its strange, independently movable eyes; crocodiles are common in all the rivers. There are fish in plenty, but the most curious certainly is the little bommi fish which comes out of the water, jumps about upon the bank, and even crawls among the branches and bushes near the water; in appearance and movement it is so like a frog that one at first does not realize that it is in reality a fish.

13. While beasts, birds, and reptiles are varied and numerous, it is surprising how inconspicuous they are. In fact, unless one is really hunting for these creatures, he may rarely see them. One might spend months in Liberia and upon returning home declare that forest and stream were almost without inhabitants. There are, however, forms of life which are very much in evidence. Insects and other inver-

tebrate forms abound; no one can overlook them. The termites or white ants are everywhere. Sometimes they build their enormous hillocks of clay out in the open country; these are great constructions which rise to a height of six, eight, or ten feet and which, within, present a complicated system of passages and tunnels; in the heart of this great nest the queen lives immured in a clay cell. Another species of the white ant enters houses and works destruction; books, papers, wood, all may be destroyed. This sort dislikes exposure to the sunlight and constructs tunnels to protect themselves from it. Of true ants there are many species, among which of course the driver is the most famous; it travels in droves of millions, running in a continuous black line perhaps an inch in breadth and many rods in length; they are scavengers and clear everything within their path; their bite is painful, and one must look out for their moving column when he is upon the trail; they swarm upon and kill small animals which they encounter and clean their skeletons before they leave; when they enter houses people are wise to vacate and leave them to clean out the place. The famous jigger is a recent importation into Liberia, as into Africa generally; it burrows into human feet, causing an intolerable itching; ensconced, it develops a sack of eggs, round and of considerable size; unless this is removed, the eggs hatch and the young burrow out into the sole of the foot; when itching is felt, search should be made for its cause and the insect, sack and all, carefully removed with a needle; serious injury to the feet may result if jiggers are neglected. When one walks over the trail during rainy weather, he sees great quantities of earth-worms of enormous size, even two feet six inches or three feet in length. Scorpions and centipedes are not uncommon. We have not even suggested the wide range and diversity of insect-life, but have simply mentioned samples of the more conspicuous.

14. The human population of Liberia consists of the Americo-Liberians, who live in a number of small

settlements along the coast and upon some of the more important rivers, and the aborigines. The truly native population consists of many different tribes, each with its own language, territory, government, and life. These tribes linguistically form three or four groups. Delafosse, our best authority in regard to Liberian populations, recognizes four such groups; Sir Harry Johnston recognizes three. The four divisions of Delafosse are Kru, Mandingo, Gola, Gbele—Sir Harry Johnston's are Kru, Mandingo, and Kpwezi. We have already suggested that the tribes are many and diverse; within his Kru group Delafosse names eighteen tribes. The black populations of Africa are usually divided into three great divisions—true Negroes, Bantu, Negrillos (Pygmies and Bushmen). The Liberian tribes are true Negroes and are to be distinguished from the Bantu populations of Congo, Belge and southern Africa. Most of the native tribes are pagan. In the western half of Liberia, however, Mohammedanism has taken hold of the great tribes of Mandingo and Vai. Among all these natives the tribal organization and government remain in full force, although most of them recognize the sovereignty of the Republic; native dress, arts, and industries remain; among the pagan tribes polygamy is common; domestic slavery still exists; witchcraft is recognized and the ancient ordeals are practiced.

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY.—1. The name Liberia was suggested in 1824 by Robert Goodloe Harper, of Baltimore, Maryland, and has reference to the fact that the colony was established as a land of freedom; the capital city, Monrovia, was also named on his suggestion in honor of the president of the United States at that time, James Monroe. The Republic of Liberia is divided for administrative purposes into four counties—Montserrado, Grand Bassa, Sinoe, and Maryland. These are named in order from west to east. The portion of Montserrado County lying around Cape Mount forms a territory with Robertsport as its capital and chief city.

2. It is difficult to learn reliable facts regarding the population of Liberia. Sir Harry Johnston made a careful estimation of the number of Americo-Liberians, listing each of the settlements and stating their probable number of inhabitants. He found the total to be 11,850 persons—or in round numbers 12,000; he estimated that there were 30,000 natives who had been more or less in contact with the white man and knew something of English or some other European language and of civilization; he estimated the total of untouched native population at 2,000,000 persons. Delafosse, an exceptionally cautious observer, claims 30,000 civilized inhabitants. Gerard raises the citizen mass of the Republic to 80,000 persons, of whom 20,000 are Americo-Liberians and 60,000 are natives who have submitted themselves to the laws of the country. It is certain that Sir Harry's estimate of the number of interior natives is at least double the reality; so far as the other elements of population are concerned, he is probably somewhat near the facts, although it is likely that his number of 12,000 Americo-Liberians is an underestimate.

3. Most of the Americo-Liberian settlements are on the coast, although there are a number along the St. Paul's River and a few upon some of the other rivers. There are four cities in the Republic, with mayor and common council; Monrovia, Grand Bassa, Edina, and Harper. The townships are Robertsport, Marshall, River Cess, Greenville, Nana Kru, Cavalla. In order to reduce the expense of the government service, the Liberian government has limited the number of open ports where foreigners may trade. The open ports at the present time include the cities and townships above mentioned and also Manna, Nifu, Sasstown, and Fishtown. The remaining ports are open for trade to Liberians but not to foreign traders. They are, Little Bassa, Tobakoni, New Cess, Trade Town, Grand Kulloh, Tembo, Rock Cess, Bafu Bay, Butu, Kroba, Beddo, Pickanini Cess, Grand Cesters, Wedabo, Pудuke, Garawé.

4. We reproduce Sir Harry Johnston's table.* It appears to have been carefully made and deserves consideration. We happen to have another set of figures, however, which we can compare with his; we quote them from Ferguson's Handbook of Liberia. In May, 1907, an amendment to the Constitution was submitted to the popular vote; 6579 votes were cast. Voters must be males of at least twenty-one years and owners of property; the population represented by

*SUMMARY OF POPULATION—AMERICO-LIBERIANS

Montserrado County—	(Johns- (Ferguson)	son)	Coast: Grand Bassa County—	(Johns- (Ferguson)	son)
Robertson.....	400	78	Grand Bassa to		
Boyeville.....	50	57	River Cestos.....	150	
St. Paul's River			On River Cestos....	50	
Settlements—			Since County,		
New Georgia.....	300	36	Since Settlements—		
Caldwell.....	100	109	Sino River.....	50	
Brewerville.....	200	170	Lexington.....	100	68
Clay-Ashland.....	400	484	Greenville.....	350	156
Louisiana.....	100	81	Philadelphia.....	125	
New York.....	50		Georgia.....	125	
White Plains.....	300			750	
Millsburg.....	250	17			
Arthington.....	300	54	Kru Coast—		
Careysburg.....	400	688	Nana Kru		
Orosierville.....	100	109	Setra Kru		
Bensonville.....	150	115	Nifu		150
Robertville.....	150		Sass Town		
Harrisburg.....	350	89	Garawe		
	3250		Maryland County,		
Settlements on the			Cape Palmas and		
Mesurado River—			Lower Cavalla—		
Barnersville.....		81	Rocktown.....	100	
Gardnersville.....	300		Harper.....	300	256
Johnsonville.....		215	Philadelphia.....	100	
Paynesville.....		267	Latrobe.....	50	
Monrovia.....	2500	106	Outington.....	100	
Junk River			Half Cavalla.....	50	
Settlements—			Hoffmann.....	50	
Schieffin and			Middlesex.....	50	
Powellville.....	225		Jacksonville.....	75	
Mount Olive.....	150		Bunker Hill.....	25	
Marshall.....	125	55	Tubman Town.....	100	
Farmington River			New Georgia.....	25	
and Owen's Grove.....	300	14	Hillierville.....	25	
	800			1650	
Grand Bassa County,			Scattered in Interior		
Grand Bassa Settle-			Kelipo, Maryland		
ments—			County		
Little Bassa.....	50		Boporo Region		150
Edina.....	250	494	Upper St. Paul's,		
Hartford.....	50	74	etc., etc.		
St. John's River.....	350			11,850	
Upper Buchanan.....	400	1298			
Lower Buchanan.....	300	310			
Tobacco.....	50				
	1750				

Owing to the use of different names, and the use of the same name in different ways, a complete comparison is impossible.

them would surely be at least three times this number—which gives a minimum of 19,737. These figures, however, can not be depended upon without qualification, because no doubt “natives” were among the voters; in fact, when matters of importance, upon which public opinion is actively aroused, are voted on, the “brother from the bush” is mustered to the polls in considerable numbers. We copy the numbers voting at different settlements in column parallel to Sir Harry Johnston’s figures. Curious discrepancies occur, as for instance, cases where a larger number of votes were cast than Sir Harry’s figure, which is supposed to give the total number of population.

5. As vital statistics for Liberia are rare, and it is interesting to know how immigrants survived the acclimating fever, we subjoin a table taken from the African Repository.* It is interesting

* POPULATION MOVEMENT FOR LIBERIA (EXCLUSIVE OF MARYLAND) FROM 1820 TO 1843

Year	Arrivals	Deaths	Removals	Births, Ldv.	Pop.
1820.....	86	15	35	—	36
1821.....	33	7	8	—	54
1822.....	37	14	5	3	75
1823.....	65	15	8	6	120
1824.....	103	21	8	3	200
1825.....	66	21	3	6	248
1826.....	182	48	6	3	379
1827.....	234	29	14	6	576
1828.....	301	137	24	12	638
1829.....	247	67	25	20	813
1830.....	326	110	25	20	1,024
1831.....	165	83	12	30	1,117
1832.....	655	129	83	13	1,573
1833.....	639	217	122	44	1,917
1834.....	237	140	31	33	1,016
1835.....	183	83	32	48	2,132
1836.....	209	145	13	47	2,230
1837.....	76	141	6	58	2,217
1838.....	205	185	12	56	2,281
1839.....	56	135	10	55	2,247
1840.....	115	180	6	40	2,216
1841.....	86	100	9	78	2,271
1842.....	229	91	15	35	2,429
1843.....	19	85	2	29	2,390

in various ways. The large number of deaths, nearly one-half the total of immigrants, is not strange in view of the fact that a large part of the persons sent were well on in years, or worn out through service. Such, and small children, were especially liable to die under the new conditions. Under the circumstances, the number of removals (presumably returns to the United States) is not large. Most interesting of all, however, is the column of viable births. How would it compare with the present? The impression the visitor receives is that the Americo-Liberian population is barely holding its own—if it is doing that.

SOCIETY.—1. In considering the society of Liberia, and the problems with which the Liberian government has had to deal, it is necessary to sharply distinguish the different elements of which it is composed. We have already indicated them, but it will be well here to clearly separate them. We may first recognize immigrant and aboriginal populations. The immigrant population, as we use the term, includes negroes who have come from the United States, from the British West Indies, or from South America, and their descendants; this class also includes a number of recaptured Africans and their descendants. The first settlers were of course American freed-men from the United States. They and their descendants have always formed the bulk of the Liberian population. Immigration from the United States has never entirely ceased, although in these latter days the new-comers have been people who were born in freedom. There is a very considerable number of so-called "West Indian Negroes" in Liberia; ever since the foundation of the Republic there has been a small but rather steady influx of such individuals. Occasionally immigrants have also come from South American colonies and from various British colonies and settlements along the coast of West Africa; all of these new-comers are included under the general term of Americo-Liberians, even though they may have had no relation to America. During the early

days of Liberia it was customary to send Africans who had been captured on slaving ships by American war vessels to Liberia for settlement; these individuals were known as recaptured Africans, and it was customary to settle them in places by themselves; although such recaptured Africans rapidly acquired the improvements of civilization and showed themselves industrious, enterprising, and progressive, they were generally looked upon with more or less contempt by the other settlers. The aboriginal population may be divided into three quite different groups. The coast natives, Kru and others, have long been in constant contact with white men and have acquired considerable knowledge of the outside world; they are constantly employed by steamers both as crews and in loading and discharging cargoes. In the western half of the Republic Mohammedan influence is strong; the Mandingo, most of the Vai, and considerable numbers of such tribes as the Gola are Mohammedans; the influence of Mohammedanism is spreading and the presence of this element is destined to have its effect upon the nation. The third element of the native population is the interior natives living the old tribal life. Having thus called attention to the different elements which mingle in Liberian society, it will be understood that our further discussion in this section has reference only to the civilized Liberians.

2. The Liberian settlements generally consist of well built houses arranged along broad, straight streets. The style of architecture is, as might be expected, influenced by the plantation houses of our southern states before the war. It was natural that the freed-men, when they had a chance to develop, should copy those things with which they were familiar. Towns, houses, dress, life—all were reproductions of what was considered elegant in the days before removal. Of course Monrovia, as the capital city, is the best representative of the development. It is a town of perhaps 7,000 inhabitants; it is sharply

divided into two divisions, a civilized quarter upon the summit of a ridge some 290 feet in height; here live the Americo-Liberians and the European residents. The buildings are for the most part rather large constructions of one and a half or two stories; the houses have large rooms with high ceilings and are generally supplied with balconies and porches. Krutown, lying along the water's edge on the seacoast and fronting the interior lagoon, consists of large, rectangular native houses closely crowded together, and its narrow streets swarm with people. Five minutes' walk takes one from the Executive Mansion in the heart of the civilized quarter to the heart of Krutown.

While on the streets of Monrovia one may see a startling range of clothing, due to the fact that there are pagan natives, Kru boys, Mohammedans, and Americo-Liberians, all jostling and elbowing each other. The Americo-Liberian dresses very much like civilized people in our ordinary country towns. There are of course differences in wealth, and one may see all grades of dress. On all public occasions men of prominence appear in the regulation dress of our southern states. Sir Harry Johnston says that "Liberia is the land of the cult of the dress-suit." Nowhere else have I ever seen so large a number, proportionally, of dress-suits, frock-coats, and stovepipe hats as in Monrovia upon Sundays or days of celebration.

3. All speak English, and though Sir Harry does not like their English, it is far better than might be expected, though there are indeed colloquialisms. All who meet you give friendly greetings. At first it is something of a shock to have the children as they pass say "Mawnin, paw," or address one as "daddy," but one soon becomes accustomed to it. On the whole, the life of the people is that of simple country folk. They are well satisfied with their condition and take life easy. They love to sit on the porch and chat with passers. On the whole, it must be admitted that they

lack energy. The number who really think, lead, direct, control, is very small. There is, as among our own colored people here at home, something of over-elegance in both speech and manner. While a very large number of them read, few indeed have even a moderate education.

4. Sociability is largely developed. They love to gather upon every kind of pretext. There are practically no places of public amusement. In 1831 there was a public library with twelve hundred volumes in the city of Monrovia; to-day there is no public library or reading-room in the capital city. Lodges are numerous and the number of secret organizations is very large. There are eight or ten Free Masons Lodges; the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows has sixteen lodges and upwards of three hundred members; the United Brothers of Friendship have lodges at ten of the most important towns and The Sisters of the Mysterious Ten—which is the female branch of the order—has four temples; the Independent Order of Good Templars too is represented. Literary societies and lyceums are from time to time organized, but usually have a short existence; one, however, at Cape Palmas, seems to have outlived the usual period. A respectable Bar Association has been in existence for several years, has annual meetings, and prints its proceedings.

5. There is little of what could be called literary activity in the Republic. One sees some books, but there are no book-stores; the number of individuals who have modest private libraries must be very small. It is true, however, that a considerable number of men can write remarkably well. The public documents of the Republic have always been well worded and forceful. The messages of successive presidents to the legislature have shown extraordinary ability. One who follows the dealings of Liberian officials with foreign governments is constantly impressed by the fact that in deliberation they show judgment, in diplomatic procedure extraordinary skill. It is cer-

tainly no unjust discrimination to emphasize the literary power of such men as Ex-President Arthur Barclay, Chief Justice J. J. Dossan, Ex-Secretary of State F. E. R. Johnson, and Judge E. Barclay, a poet of no mean ability. Oratory is inherent in the race and the number of individuals who can deliver a public address of merit on the celebration of Independence Day or other occasion is very large. Such orations are often put into print, and a considerable library might be made of this kind of production. Comparatively few have written seriously on public questions or on history. Occasionally something in this line is printed—Karnaga's *Negro Republic on West Africa*, and Branch's *Sketch of the History of Arthington* are samples. The one notable literary man whom Liberia has produced is Edward Wilmot Blyden, who died a year ago; his name is known wherever the English language is read and his contributions upon negro subjects were many and important.

6. NEWSPAPERS.—When we were in Monrovia in October and November, 1912, no newspaper was printed in the capital city. At that time six periodicals were published at different places in the Republic. They were: *The Living Chronicle*, *The Silver Trumpet*, both printed at Cape Palmas; *The African League*, at Grand Bassa; *The Gazette* (official) and *Liberia and West Africa*, at Monrovia. Three of these publications were missionary enterprises, one was an official monthly publication, and one was an actual newspaper appearing monthly. This, *The African League*, was conducted by J. H. Green, an American negro from Little Rock, Arkansas; it began in the United States and is now in its fifteenth volume; it was removed to Liberia at the beginning of its fourth volume, which was printed in Monrovia in 1902; it is now conducted at Buchanan, or Grand Bassa. *The African League* is a live sheet and discusses the questions of the day with considerable independence. Newspapers in Liberia have a hard time and usually

maintain a brief existence; so true is this that persons are extremely cautious about subscribing by the year to any publication for fear that it will end after the publication of the first few numbers; for this reason it is more customary to buy single copies than to subscribe for a definite term. Still worse than this, it is far more the custom for Liberian readers to borrow newspapers than to buy them; nowhere perhaps does a single copy of a periodical go so far. All of this makes editing and publishing an uphill task.

PERIODICALS OF LIBERIA

In the course of reading, rummaging and inquiry, I have secured a lot of fragmentary information regarding Liberian periodicals. I present the matter here because taken together it is more in quantity and more definite than I have been able to find anywhere in print. I make this note in the hope that it may bring me information to correct and extend the list.

1829 *The Liberia Herald*. John B. Russwurm was the first editor. Hiliary Teague and Edward Wilmot Blyden (1851) edited it at times. Whether it was continuously published, I do not know. It was sometimes, perhaps always, aided by the government.

1830 *Liberian Star*.

(1832) *The Amulet*.

(1839) *The African Luminary*.

(188-) *The Observer*.

1898 *The Liberia Recorder*—1906. Last editor, N. H. B. Cassell.

1898 *Liberia and West Africa*. (Vol. XIV in 1912.) Published by the Methodist Episcopal Mission, at the College of West Africa. Perhaps at first *The New Africa*.

— *The Weekly Spy*.

— *The Baptist Monitor*.

— *The New Africa*.

— *The Living Chronicle*.

— *The Cape Palmas Reporter*; monthly.
J. J. Dossen.

— *The Youth's Gazette* (student paper,
College of West Africa).

1902 *The African League*: Monrovia, monthly; later Buchanan, semi-monthly. J. H. Green. Began publication in the United States; the fourth volume at Monrovia.

} All between 1898
and 1902.

- 1903 *The Monrovia Weekly*.
 ——— *The National Echo* (governmental).
 (1905) *The Liberia Bulletin*.
 (1905) *Liberia Gazette*.
 ——— *The Agricultural World*, Monrovia. P. O. Gray.
 (1907) *The Monrovia Spectator*.
 1907 *The Silver Trumpet*, Cape Palmas, quarterly. S. D. Ferguson, Jr.
 The Liberia Register, Monrovia. John L. Morris.
 1911 *The Guide, Monrovia*, monthly. F. Wilcom Ellegor.
 1912 *Liberia Official Gazette*, Monrovia, monthly.
 ——— *Christian Advocate*.
 ——— *Cavalla Messenger*.
 ——— *Sons of Cape Palmas*.

Parenthesis indicates that the periodical was printed at least during the enclosed date.

7. The importance of education in the Black Republic is by no means overlooked, but it has always been difficult to raise the money to conduct schools. The office of Superintendent of Public Instruction is a Cabinet position. In 1912 ninety-one schools were under his direction. There are many mission schools in the Republic, some of them of high grade, and all of them doing a useful work. Liberia College has had an existence of a half century, and most of the men of prominence in the later history of the Republic have received instruction within its walls; it has received a partial endowment from private American sources, but is also assisted by financial aid from the government. As education is one of the most serious problems facing the Republic, it will be discussed under a separate heading, and further comment may be delayed.

8. The Liberians are a very religious community; the Bible is read with old-fashioned devotion; Theology is of the orthodox and rigid type; Sunday is a day of rest and religious duty, and Sabbath desecration approaches the dangerous. There are churches in all the settlements, and in Monrovia and the other cities several denominations are represented. The Protestant Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Lutheran denomina-

tions are represented either by independent churches or by mission work. The emotional nature of the negro is well known, and the religion which ministers to them in Liberia is emotional to a high degree; revivals are common—in fact they recur probably at annual intervals—and are accompanied by all the displays of extravagant and explosive demonstration which once were common among the negroes of our southern states and earlier among white populations in the north. Conviction of sin and the attainment of glory are the two chief ends sought in these reviving efforts.

9. Some facts in regard to the history of churches in Liberia may prove of interest. The first church established was Baptist in 1821. It had been organized in this country among emigrants about to sail to the land of hope; in its membership was the famous Lott Carey, who served as leader and preacher. The denomination has had a varied history in Liberia; it spread rather rapidly and at one time was widely developed; it suffered some decline thereafter, but still has several congregations; it is strongest in Montserrado and Bassa Counties; it maintains a flourishing Sunday school in Monrovia.

In 1825 the famous Basle Mission undertook an establishment in Liberia, several missionaries having been sent out from Switzerland. Considerable correspondence took place between the officers of the Mission Society and the Colonization Society, and some of the missionaries visited the United States before going to Liberia; these Swiss missionaries suffered much from disease and death; the effort was continued for some time, but eventually the work was transferred to Sierra Leone, and Liberia was left unoccupied.

The Methodist Episcopal denomination entered Liberia in 1832. It has continued in active work from that date until the present time; the present missionary bishop for Africa is Joseph Crane Hartzell, whose residence is Funchal, Madeira, and whose

field includes Liberia, Angola, and Madeira on the west coast, and Rhodesia and Portuguese Africa on the east coast. A resident bishop (colored) is maintained at Monrovia, who is at present Isaiah B. Scott, a native of Kentucky, educated in the United States. The work is full of life and much headway is making. The Report of 1912 announces work at 49 different stations in four districts—Bassa and Sinoe, Cape Palmas, Monrovia, Saint Paul River Districts. There were 15 foreign missionaries, 3 other foreign workers, 45 ordained and 86 unordained native preachers, 4317 members. One College, 1 High School and 29 elementary schools were reported, with a total of 63 teachers and 1882 scholars. The work is well sustained and \$11,576 was contributed during the year in the direction of self-support. The first missionary sent into this field was Melville B. Cox, who lived but a few months after his arrival. It is an interesting fact that this Liberian mission is the first foreign mission of the Methodist Episcopal church.

The first Presbyterian missionary to Liberia, John B. Pinney, organized a church in the colony in 1833; its first building was dedicated in 1838; a Presbytery was organized in 1848, but was soon dissolved for lack of a legal quorum; it was organized again in 1851, when there were three churches in the country—Monrovia, Greenville, Clay-Ashland; the work was at first a purely mission work, especially directed towards the aborigines; there were many deaths among the early missionaries, and in 1842 the policy was established of sending only colored preachers; white men, however, were sent again in 1849. The mission maintained churches and schools, including the Alexander High School at Monrovia. The work was continued under considerable discouragement, both white and black missionaries dying in considerable numbers, until 1899, when it was abandoned by the mother church. Presbyterianism, however, did not die, but has continued under local direction and with self-support up to the present. It is reported that, in

1904, there were ten clergymen, nine churches, 450 members, and 437 scholars on its lists. From an historical sketch put out by the Presbyterian Board, we quote the following: "In 1894 the Board of Foreign Missions resolved that its wisest policy in regard to the Liberian church would be to commit their support to the zeal and devotion of their own members. In pursuance of this resolve the amount of aid was gradually diminished, until in 1899 the entire responsibility was given over to the Presbytery of West Africa. The latest report shows that the work has not fallen off in consequence. There are now fifteen churches with about 400 members. This little flock of Liberian Presbyterians greatly need the prayers of Christians in America, that they may be kept faithful and pure, and use aright their exceptional opportunities for mission work among the pagan tribes." A very pious prayer, but it would be interesting to know how genuinely the American Presbyterians feel aught of interest in, and sympathy with, "this little flock." It is possible that, if the flock is to "use aright its exceptional opportunities for mission work among the pagan tribes," an occasional expression might be a stimulus to them.

The Protestant Episcopal Church began its work with a little school for natives in the Cape Palmas District in 1836. The work has prospered notably, and Bishop Ferguson in his latest annual report reported 26 clergymen, 25 lay readers, 46 catechists and teachers, of whom 21 were native Africans; he had 479 baptisms in the year, of whom 423 were from heathenism. The present number of communicants is 2404, two-thirds of whom are native Africans; the mission maintained twenty-two day schools and nineteen boarding schools with an attendance of 1210 in the one, and 643 in the other. The work of this mission is approaching the point of self-support.

The Lutherans began their work in Liberia in 1860. It has been largely educational work; it centers at the Muhlenburg Boys' School, which, in 1911, re-

ported 145 boarding pupils, and 13 day pupils; at the Girls' School in Harrisburg there were 61 boarding pupils and 17 day pupils; the mission maintains three schools in the interior, with a total of 71 boarding and 6 day pupils. One of the strong features of their work is that they encourage the boys to labor. "In vacation time they remain in the schools and put in their time on the farm, picking coffee, cutting and clearing land; some of them also worked in the workshops and in other ways around the mission, rowing the boats and making themselves generally useful. The Girls' School carries out similar plans of education for the girls." This mission attempts to aid in its own support by actual production; the proceeds of its coffee sales during the year of 1911 were something like \$1,700, \$1,000 of which amount was used in the installation of a water-power plant. The mission sets an example in advanced methods which can be helpful to the Republic at large; in reporting work, they say: "Until a few years ago, our coffee was all hulled by an old-fashioned mill consisting of two flat stones similar to the burrs of the old flour mills with which our parents were familiar. This was crude and slow, though it did its work fairly well. The chief objection to its use was the large number of grains which were broken. Five or six years ago a large iron mill was installed, which effected a great saving both in time and expense, and turned out coffee in more marketable condition. An improved fanning machine, differing from the grain fanners in America only in the screens used, was put in beside the huller. By this machine we can grade the coffee satisfactorily as to size of grain desired." If only Liberian planters had equally kept pace with the treatment of their coffee harvest, the market would not have suffered so severely as it has. The policy of this mission is to locate a married couple as missionaries at interior points separated from each other by considerable distances; these places are to be stations and headquarters within populations estimated at about

150,000 persons; it is a capital plan and should exercise wide influence. In connection with the mission a store is conducted which not only maintains itself, but leaves a profit of some hundreds of dollars yearly; a tailor-shop, shoe-shop, a blacksmith-shop, and a doctor's office, are also maintained, which not only care for themselves, but add somewhat to the income. On the whole, the work and plans of this mission are markedly practical.

The last mission in order of establishment is the African Methodist Episcopal Church Mission, founded under Bishop Turner. It has been successful under the direction of Bishop Turner, Bishop Moore, and Bishop Shaffer. Its superintendent is the Rev. L. C. Curtis; it has five church buildings, 16 ordained and 3 unordained preachers, 3 missionary teachers, 501 members. It has an industrial school with 100 acres of land on the St. Paul's River. It is the only one of all the missions which originates with colored men and which is carried through without white assistance.

GOVERNMENT.—1. The Declaration of Independence of Liberia was adopted on July 26, 1847. It is a human document of extraordinary interest. As a basis for it, the declarers state their case in the following words: "We the people of the Republic of Liberia, were originally inhabitants of the United States of North America. In some parts of that country we were debarred by law from all rights and privileges of men—in other parts, public sentiment, more powerful than law, ground us down. We were everywhere shut out from all civil offices. We were excluded from all participation in the government. We were taxed without our consent. We were compelled to contribute to the resources of the country, which gave us no protection. We were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue of improvement was effectually closed. Strangers from all lands, of a color different from ours, were preferred before us. We uttered our complaints, but they were

unattended to, or met only by alleging the peculiar institution of the country. All hope of a favorable change in our country was thus wholly extinguished in our bosoms, and we looked about with anxiety for some asylum from the deep degradation." The whole document is well worth reading.

2. The Constitution was adopted on the same day, which date is celebrated annually as the birthday of the nation. The document is largely patterned after our own, but presents some interesting points of difference. Among these, three deserve special mention. Slavery is absolutely prohibited throughout the Republic. Citizenship is limited to negroes or persons of negro descent; in the original Constitution the wording was, that it was confined to "persons of color," but, as curious questions gradually arose in regard to who should be considered "persons of color," an amendment was adopted, changing the expression to "negroes or those of negro descent." The ballot is cast by male citizens, twenty-one years of age, and owning real estate.

3. This Constitution remained without amendment for sixty years. In the beginning the term of president, vice-president, and representatives had been fixed at two years, and that of senators at four; experience demonstrated that these terms were too short and a vigorous agitation to lengthen them took place. The Liberians are a conservative people and look back with pride to the doings of the "fathers"; very strong feeling was aroused at the suggestion of changing the wording of the sacred document which they had left. In time, however, sufficient sentiment was developed to lead to the submission of amendments at the election of 1907; the amendments were carried by a vote of 5112 to 1467. By these amendments the term of office of president, vice-president, and representatives was extended to four years and that of senators to six.

4. The flag of the Republic has six red stripes with five white stripes alternately displayed longi-

tudinally; in the upper angle of the flag, next to the staff, a field of blue, square, covers five stripes in depth; in the centre of the field is a lone white star.

5. The great seal of the Republic bears the following design:—a dove on the wing with an open scroll in its claws; a ship under sail upon the ocean; the sun rising from the water; a palm-tree, with a plough and spade at its base; above, the words: *Republic of Liberia*; below, the national motto: *The Love of Liberty Brought Us Here*.

6. The government of Liberia consists of three coordinate branches—the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial. The executive branch consists of the President, Vice-President, and a Cabinet of seven members. The Legislature consists of two houses—the Senate and the House of Representatives. The judicial branch consists of a Supreme Court with a Chief Justice and two Associates, and Circuit Courts under the supervision of the Supreme Court. The President, Vice-President, and Congressmen are elected; all other officers of state are appointed by the President, subject to the approval of the Senate.

7. The President and Vice-President are elected by the voters for a period of four years. The President's Cabinet consists of seven members—Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of War and Navy, Postmaster-General, Attorney-General, Superintendent of the Department of Education. These officers have the usual functions connected with such positions. The Vice-President is President of the Senate.¹

¹The present President of the Republic is Daniel Edward Howard. He is the third "native son" to hold that office—the first having been President Johnson. President Howard's Cabinet consists of the following members: Secretary of State, C. D. B. King; Secretary of the Treasury, John L. Morris (son of the Secretary of the Interior); Secretary of the Interior, James Morris; Secretary of War and Navy, Wilmot E. Dennis; Postmaster-General, Isaac Moort; Attorney-General, Samuel A. Ross; Superintendent of the Department of Education, Benja-

8. The Legislature consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate consists of eight members, two from each county; they are elected for a term of six years. The House of Representatives at the present time includes fourteen members, apportioned as follows: Montserrado County, four; Grand Bassa County, three; Sinoe County, three; Maryland County, three; Cape Mount Territory, one. Notwithstanding its small size, this Legislature has as broad a range of matters to consider as any legislative body elsewhere; thirty-two committees deal with matters ranging from foreign affairs and commerce through military and naval affairs, native African affairs, and pensions, to engrossing and enrolling. Naturally in such a multiplicity of committees—most of which consist of five members—ample opportunity is found for the development of political ability among the members; it seems, however, as if membership on twenty-two committees, a case of which occurs in the present standing committee roll, was over-ambition or over-loading. In case of necessity the President, Vice-President, and Cabinet officers may be impeached. Impeachment must originate in the House of Representatives; the trial is made by the Senate, over which at the time the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court presides.

9. The judicial branch of the government consists of the Supreme Court, with a Chief Justice and two Associates, and of Circuit Courts with rotating judges under the supervision of the Supreme Court. All judges are appointed by the President. The Supreme Court holds two sessions annually; the Circuit Courts hold quarterly.

10. Mr. George W. Ellis, for a number of years secretary of our legation at Monrovia, and exceptionally well informed regarding Liberian affairs, states

min W. Payne (educated in the U. S.). The Vice-President is Samuel G. Harmon, of Grand Bassa, whose father was vice-president in 1876.

that the political authority of the President is exercised in the counties and territories by a governor appointed by the Executive, who is called Superintendent. In the interior the President is represented by a Commissioner, who presides over each commissioner-district, and who associates with himself the native chiefs in the control or government of the native peoples in his district. In some instances this Commissioner has judicial functions, from which an appeal lies to the Quarterly and Supreme Courts. The authority of the Commissioner is supported by a detachment of the Liberian Frontier Police Force, with head-quarters at the Monrovia barracks.

11. In the matter of lesser courts there are Quarterly, Probate, and Justice courts, for each of the counties and territories. The judges can only be removed for cause, the President suspending, and his suspension meeting the approval of the Legislature. Monrovia recently abolished the Justices of the Peace and established a Municipal Court with a special judge, whose tenure of office is during good behavior.

12. Politics is in great vogue. The Liberians have never liked to work. Since the establishment of the colony, agriculture even has had but slight attractions for the people. It is not strange, all things considered. The ancestors of these people used to work hard in the fields before they went over there; one reason they went was that they wanted to escape field-labor. They had always been accustomed to see their masters live in ease, without soiling their hands with toil; when they became their own masters, they naturally wanted to be like the men to whom they had been accustomed to look up with respect. Trade has always been in high repute. It was easy for the newcomers to trade with the natives of the country and rapidly acquire a competence. So far as work was concerned, there were plenty of "bush niggers" to be had cheaply. There is, however, another way of escape from manual labor besides trade—that is professional life. Everywhere people who do not wish

to work with their hands may seek a learned profession; it is so here with us—it is so there with them. The Liberians would rather be “reverends” or doctors or lawyers than to work with their hands. Of all the professions, however, law seems to be the favorite. The number of lawyers in Liberia is unnecessarily large, and lawyers naturally drift into politics; they aim to become members of Congress or judges of the Supreme Court or members of the Cabinet or President of the Republic. It is unfortunate that so many of them are anxious for that kind of life; but they are skilled in it, and we have nothing to teach them when it comes to politics.

13. Ellis says: “. . . the most notable characteristic of Liberian government is the existence practically of only one political party. The reasons for this no doubt are many, but important, if not chief among them, is the economic depression which followed the decline in the price of Liberian coffee. Coffee was the overshadowing industry of the Republic. The Liberian planters had invested all the capital they had in the coffee industry, and when coffee went down in the early nineties, the different Liberian communities were thrown into such a paralysis of hard times that they have not recovered to this day. Disheartened and financially distressed, formerly strong, self-sustaining, and independent, Liberian planters one after another abandoned their plantations and transferred their time and attention from coffee and the farm to politics and office-seeking. And while something is due to the ability of the administrations to undermine opposition by capturing its capable leaders through the charm of political preferment, something due to the smallness of the civilized population and the disposition of voter and leader alike to be on the winning side, yet, economic depression is at the foundation of the one-party system which now obtains in Liberia.”

14. Still there has ever been a nominal division into parties. Again we quote from Ellis: “Thus

after the adoption of the Liberian constitution the people divided themselves into two parties under the same names as those which obtained at the time in the United States—the Republican and the Whig parties. For some time the Republican Party has ceased to exist in Liberian politics. The opposition to the Whig Party has been for the most part unorganized, without wise and resourceful leaders, and without funds adequate to compete with the dominant Whig administrations in national campaigns. But like the present Republican Party of the United States, the Liberian Whigs have met all the Liberian difficulties during the past thirty years or more. The Whigs had been progressive, and inspired by wise and distinguished statesmen, the Liberian Whigs have repeatedly addressed themselves with success to the Liberian voters. Opposition to the Whig Party in Liberia at the polls seems now to have little or no chance of success, so that nomination on a Whig ticket is equivalent to election.”

15. All this is true, but after all, at the last election there was a considerable awakening of party spirit; it was a bitter political contest. The cry of fraud was loudly raised; seats in Congress were challenged by more than half the total number of membership; the question was seriously asked how an investigation would be possible on account of the lack of unimplicated to conduct it. This outburst of feeling and this cry of fraud, came at a bad moment; the nation was appealing for our financial assistance; it was feared that a bad impression might be produced by the condition of disharmony; under this fear, personal feeling was for the time suppressed and the demand for investigation dropped.

16. We have already said that the Liberians are skilled in politics and that we have but little to teach them. They know quite well what graft means. In fact, graft of the finest kind exists and has existed among the native Africans from time beyond the memory of man; if the Americo-Liberians could

have escaped from our own republic without ideas in this direction, such would quickly have been developed through contact with their native neighbors. Unfortunately there is considerable opportunity for graft in the black Republic. The actual salaries of public officers and congressmen are very small. Important concessions are, however, all the time being demanded by wealthy outside interests. English, German, French, American promoters have always something to propose to that little legislature, and they never come with empty hands. One of the greatest dangers which the nation faces is found in these great schemes of exploitation offered from outside. The natural resources of the country are very great; but they should be, so far as possible, conserved for the benefit of the people and the nation. The temptation to betray the nation's interest for present personal advantage is always very great.

ECONOMICS—1. We have already called attention to the attitude of the Americo-Liberian toward manual labor and have shown that it is, on the whole, natural under the circumstances. Where there are sharp contrasts between the elements of society, as there are in Liberia between the Americo-Liberians, the Vai, the Kru, and the "Bush Niggers," there is bound to develop more or less of caste feeling. This was inevitable with people who had themselves come from a district where caste was so marked as in our southern states. The natives have never been considered the full equals of the immigrants nor treated as brothers; they are "hewers of wood" and "drawers of water"; they are utilized as house servants. It is convenient to be able to fill one's house with "bush niggers" as servants, and the settlers have done so from the early days of settlement. Why indeed should one himself work where life is easy and where money is quickly made through trade? This feeling of caste showed itself in various curious ways—thus the colonists soon fell into the habit of calling themselves

"white men" in contrast to the negroes of the country.

2. For the present and for some time still the chief dependence of the country is necessarily trade in raw products. Wealth must come from palm nuts and oil, piassava, rubber, and the like. In such products the Republic has enormous wealth. These can only be secured from the interior through native help. In order that this kind of trade develop, it must be stimulated by legitimate means. At present it is not as flourishing as it might be. The natives are not steady workers; they bring in products when they feel like it or when they have a pressing need of money; trails are bad, and transportation of raw products for great distances is hardly profitable. Yet, if the country is to develop, this production must be steadily increased.

3. Ultimately Liberia must depend on agriculture. With a fertile soil, a tropical climate, abundant rainfall—its possibilities in the direction of agricultural production are enormous. This industry will be the permanent dependence of the country. It must be the next in order of development. Serious development of manufacturing appears remote. Agriculture has always been neglected; Ashmun pleaded with the natives to go into it and prepared a little pamphlet of directions applicable to the local conditions; friends have begged the people ever since to pay less attention to trade and more to cultivation; all in vain. It is true, however, that ever since the days of early settlement, there has been some attention given to the matter of field culture. There was a time when there were extensive plantations of coffee and fields planted with sugar-cane. For a time these plantations were successful, but hard luck came; foreign competition arose, careless and wasteful methods were pursued, and a paralysis seems to have fallen upon the industry. Sons of those who once were successful planters have moved into Monrovia and entered politics. In the old days there were native vil-

lages in the vicinity of the capital city; then bullocks were constantly to be seen in the Monrovia market and fresh meat was easily secured; to-day the native towns have retreated into the interior, and Monrovia depends upon the steamers for fresh meat supplies.

4. Through the over-emphasis placed upon trade, there has grown up a needless importation of foreign articles. It is not only meat that is brought in from other lands; there was a time when the making of shingles was a fairly developed industry—to-day corrugated roofing comes from the outside world; one of the chief foods of the Liberians is rice—it is also one of the chief crops among the native tribes—the native rice is of most excellent quality—yet the rice eaten by Americo-Liberians is imported from foreign countries. There are many articles which might as well or better be produced in Liberia, furnishing employment and a source of wealth for many of the population, which to-day are imported in poorer quality and higher prices from outside.

5. There is a widespread feeling that Liberia has great mineral wealth. No doubt a part of this is justified; much of it, however, is merely due to the fact of ignorance regarding the interior of the country. There are surely gold and copper; there is iron, no doubt, in abundance; we have already mentioned the possibility of diamonds. Under such conditions it is natural that men throughout the whole Republic are ever dreaming of making lucky finds. Anything found anywhere, which chances to have lustre, is considered precious and leads to hopes of sudden and enormous wealth. This widespread expectation of always finding a bonanza is certainly unfortunate for any population; it is unfortunate for Liberia, but just enough of actual mineral wealth will always be discovered to keep it vigorous. It would be well indeed for the black Republic if it were lacking completely in mineral wealth. It is likely that the discovery of valuable deposits will harm the country far more than help it. Such discoveries are certain to

enlist rapacious foreign capital and to lead to constant interference and ultimate intervention. If white men in Dutch South Africa were unable to resist the aggressions of avaricious English miners, what chance can the small black Republic stand? The very day I wrote this passage, I received a letter from a well-informed Americo-Liberian. He closes with these words: "I am told that the English have opened up a gold mine in the rear of Careysburg on the St. Paul's River. This is the last settlement on the river, thirty miles inland. Of course, it is by grant of the legislature; but all based on fraud, as I am told. The yield, I learn, is very great, of which Liberia sees and knows nothing. The whole thing is guarded by an English force." I have no means of knowing how much truth there may be in this statement of my correspondent. Just such things, however, do occur, will occur, and such things are fraught with danger.

6. It is common to speak in terms of pessimism regarding the economic conditions of Liberia. This has been true for years. In 1881, Stetson spoke as follows in his *Liberian Republic as It Is*: "This condition of hopeless bankruptcy is fraught with danger to the existence of the Republic. The cords which bind her to England are being drawn closer and closer, her exports go largely to England, her imports are from England, her loans are from England, and what few favors she has to grant, or are received of her, are to English capitalists; notably a charter recently given to an English company for a railroad extending two hundred miles back from Monrovia, the capital, and designed ultimately to connect that port with the head-waters of the Niger. English influence and gunboats may at any moment settle the question of the future of Liberia." It will be seen that this was written after the time when Liberia solicited her first loan from England—the notorious loan of 1870.

7. Thirty years have passed since then. England has encroached, but she has not yet absorbed the Liberian Republic. Meantime, while conditions are

far from satisfactory, they have improved; England still has large relations with Liberia, but there has been a wise development of common interests with Germany since 1870. To-day Germany has greater shipping interests, greater trade interests, greater prospects than has Britain. Germany may some time become a menace, but certainly for the present she is a safer friend for Liberia than England. So far as the present financial circumstances in Liberia are concerned, a few figures may be quoted. For the ten years, from 1893 to 1903, the receipts of the nation amounted to \$2,243,148, and the expenses to \$2,171,556; an average annually of something like \$225,000 of income, \$217,000 of outgo. In 1905 receipts were \$357,000 and expenditures \$340,000. In 1911 the income rose to \$443,255 and the estimated outgo was probably \$481,954. These figures are very far from discouraging, and there is no reason why they should not be notably increased by judicious management.

8. We reproduce a little table of the receipts from customs. It will well repay careful examination.

It will be seen that during the short space of time represented by this table the receipts in customs have more than doubled. By fair dealings with the natives of the interior and by the improvement of roads, this income can be greatly multiplied.

9. It is hardly to be expected, in a population such as that with which we are here dealing, that there should be a large development in postal service. The statistics of the four years, from 1907 to 1910 show us the general movement of postal matter. The total amount is by no means insignificant and a fair growth is evident.

POSTAL STATISTICS

ARTICLES	1907	1908	1909	1910
Letters: ordinary	100,979	95,186	94,481	104,313
Letters: registered	9,052	9,768	9,421	10,458
Postal cards	15,142	10,877	15,821	18,386
Parcel post	2,888	3,539	2,332	2,895
Samples	254	299	269	385
General movement...	128,315	119,669	122,324	136,437

10. The Republic is now in telegraphic connection with the outside world. Gerard tells us that "the *German-South-American Telegraph Society*, with a capital stock of 30,000,000 marks, has recently laid a cable at Monrovia which will place the negro capital hereafter in rapid communication with the civilized world. Up to this time telegraphic messages addressed to Liberia were delivered at Freetown, and there were entrusted to the ordinary postal service, upon the semi-monthly mail-boats conducting business between Sierra Leone and the Grain Coast. Constructed by the North German Marine Cable Factory of Nordenham-am-Weser, the cable, destined to draw the little Guinean Republic from its isolation, starts from Emden, passes under sea to the island Burkom, connects at Teneriffe, in order then to reach Monrovia, from whence it is finally directed to Pernambuco, the terminal point of the line. On the other hand, the *South American Cable Co.* of London, a French society with a French director and supported by French capital, has obtained a concession with a view to the establishment of a submarine cable connecting Conakry (Guinea) with Grand Bassam (Ivory Coast), touching at Monrovia, and it is interesting to notice in passing that there has been arranged, in connection with this matter, between Germany and France a friendly relationship permitting the German cable to touch at Brest, allowing the French installation to be accomplished through the German cable, and obliging the two rival companies to have similar tariffs and giving each of them the right of using the apparatus of the other in case of the breaking of its own connection. It is also to the French government that the exclusive right has been given of establishing a *wireless telegraph station* which will connect Monrovia with the Eiffel Tower via Dakar and Casablanca, while posts, constructed at Conakry, Tabou, and Cotonou will give origin to radio-telegraphic connections between Liberia, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey; the importance of this project, to-day in

course of execution, will escape no one, since one will understand that there is question here of installing the Marconi system in Madagascar and at Timbuctu, and of thus enclosing the whole black continent in a network of rapid communication of which France alone will have control."

All three of these enterprises have been successfully carried through, and to-day Liberia is in easy connection with every part of the civilized world. It is a notable step forward.

11. Five lines of steamers make regular stops upon the coast of Liberia. Chief of these is the great Woermann Line, of Hamburg. Two regular sailings weekly in both directions touch at Monrovia. Next in importance are the British steamships controlled by Elder Dempster and Co. They have a combination consisting of the African Steamship Co. and the British African Steam-Navigation Co. These boats make two weekly sailings from Liverpool and one monthly sailing from Hamburg. Nor are these the only landings made by these lines at Liberian ports. It is probable that the Woermann Line makes three hundred calls annually, and the Elder Dempster Lines two hundred and fifty, at Liberian ports. A recent arrangement which, if given fair attention, promises a notable development, has been entered into between these two companies, whereby every two months a boat sails from New York to Monrovia and return; The English and German lines alternate in supplying this steamer. Besides these two lines of chief importance, three other lines make stops at Monrovia—the *Spanish Trans-Atlantic Co.*, of Barcelona, *Fraissinet and Co.*, of Marseilles, France, and the *Belgian Maritime Co. of Congo*, from Antwerp.

12. Considering the dangers of its coast, the light-house service of the Republic is far from satisfactory. The old light-house at Monrovia, for years a disgrace, has been replaced by a more modern apparatus; at Grand Bassa a light-house was erected at the private expense of Mr. S. G. Harmon, a successful Liberian

merchant, now the Vice-President of the Republic; at Cape Palmas a good light-house has been erected, visible at all times to a distance of six miles—this cost about \$9000 and was a gift from the French authorities. It is somewhat doubtful whether it was good policy to accept a gift from a neighbor, who has made definite efforts to crowd Liberians out of the Cavalla River, which forms the natural boundary between the Grain Coast (Liberia) and the Ivory Coast (French).

13. The whole west coast of Africa has for centuries depended only on foreign trade. Portuguese, Dutch, French, English, Germans, have all played their part. Most of these nations still have interests in that portion of the world. So far as the Liberian Republic is concerned, representatives of foreign houses have numerous trading-posts upon its coast. The house of A. Woermann has factories at Monrovia, Cape Mount, Bassa, Sinoe, and Cape Palmas. J. W. West (Hamburg) is established at Monrovia, Cape Mount, Grand Bassa, and Sinoe. Wiechers and Helm are at Monrovia and Cape Palmas. Wooden and Co. (Liverpool), Patterson and Zachonis (Liverpool), Vietor and Huber, C. F. Wilhelm Jantzen (Hamburg), and the American Trading Co. (established only in 1911), are among those who trade in Liberia.

14. A number of development companies have at different times been formed with the intention of exploiting the black Republic. Many of these have been fraudulent enterprises and have come to nothing; some, started in good faith, have failed; a few—a very few out of many—have developed promisingly. The English *Liberian Rubber Corporation* has a farm of 1000 acres with 150,000 rubber-trees already planted; this was begun in 1904 and has now reached the period of yielding; in 1912 it was expected that it would prove a paying proposition. *The Liberian Trading Co.* (English) are exporting mahogany and other valuable woods. They are opening commercial houses in different parts of the country and seeking concessions from the government to open roads. *The*

Liberian Development Co. (English) discovered gold and diamonds in 1908 and are now importing heavy machinery to work their mines, together with materials for a railway to them, and have already laid part of the railway; this is probably the company to which my correspondent, already quoted, refers. One of the latest of the development companies is the *Liberian-American Produce Co.*, which was chartered in 1910 by the national legislature with the approval of the president of the Republic for a period of sixty years. It was given large and varied powers, among them being the right to build for itself or for the government, roads, bridges, harbor-improvements, railways, etc.; and the company was granted a concession of a hundred square miles with the privilege of taking up this land in any sized blocks, anywhere in the country by simply filing in the State Department a description of the lands thus taken up. The company has already selected four square miles of land containing mineral deposits, and plans to start active operations in trade, agriculture, and mining.

15. As the subject of the financial outlook of the Republic will come up again for consideration, we are here only completing our descriptive picture of the Republic. She has long been in debt; her resources have been mortgaged; her customs-houses have been in the hands of receivers. She has recently consolidated all her debts, foreign and domestic, and has secured a loan through the kind offices of the United States of \$1,700,000. This loan has been guaranteed by the customs-house receipts, and the customs-service is now under the direction of an international receivership.

HISTORY

Africa is the Land of Black Men, and to Africa they must and will come.—JOHN KIZELL.

Tell my brethren to come—not to fear—this land is good—it only wants men to possess it.—DANIEL COKER.

1821-1828.

The American Colonization Society was founded in Washington in December, 1816. To it Liberia is due. On the 23rd of December, 1816, the legislature of Virginia requested the governor of the state to correspond with the President of the United States "for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place not within any of the states, or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth." A few days after this a meeting was held at Washington to which persons interested were invited. Bushrod Washington presided; Mr. Clay, Mr. Randolph, and others took part in the discussions which ensued and which resulted in the organization of the American Colonization Society. Judge Washington was chosen president, a board of twelve managers were selected, together with seventeen vice-presidents from various states. The object of the Society was clearly set forth in the first and second articles of its constitution. "Article 1. This society shall be called The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States. Article 2. The object to which attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan of colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our coun-

try, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act to effect this object in co-operation with the general government and such of the states as may adopt regulations on the subject."

We do not desire in the least to minimize the good, either of the intent or result, of the American Colonization Society. It is, however, only just to say that it was not a purely benevolent organization. Its membership included different classes. Of this Jay says: "First, such as sincerely desire to afford the free blacks an asylum from the oppression they suffer here, and by their means to extend to Africa the blessings of Christianity and civilization, and who at the same time flatter themselves that colonization will have a salutary influence in accelerating the abolition of slavery; Secondly, such as expect to enhance the value and security of slave property, by removing the free blacks; and Thirdly, such as seek relief from a bad population, without the trouble and expense of improving it." As a matter of fact, the American Colonization Society was largely an organization of slave holders. Judge Washington was a southern man; of the seventeen vice-presidents twelve were from slave states; of the twelve managers all were slave holders. Through a period of years the American Colonization Society and the Abolition Societies of the United States waged a furious conflict. The real purpose of the organization was to get rid of the free blacks at any cost, and the attitude of its members toward free blacks was repeatedly expressed in the strongest terms. Thus, General Harper, to whom the names Liberia and Monrovia were due, said: "Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves." Mercer, a vice-president of the Society, spoke of them as a "horde of miserable people,—the objects of universal suspicion,—subsisting by plunder." Henry Clay, an original member of the Society and for many years vice-president, said: "Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the

free colored—contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them.” Again Clay said: “Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free persons of color are by far, as a class, the most corrupt, depraved, and abandoned.” And yet these excellent gentlemen repeatedly stated that in sending free black men to Africa, they were actually combatting the slave trade and Christianizing the natives. Clay himself said, in the same speech in which he referred to the free blacks as “corrupt, depraved, abandoned.” * * * “The Society proposes to send out not one or two pious members of Christianity into a foreign land; but to transport annually, for an indefinite number of years, in one view of its scheme, 6,000, in another, 56,000 missionaries of the descendants of Africa itself, to communicate the benefits of our religion and the arts.” Stripped of all pretense, the facts were that the free blacks of the day were not wanted in America, and that they must somehow be got rid of; accordingly they were dumped upon the African west coast.

This idea of recolonizing black men into Africa is not a new one; as far back as 1773, at which time slavery was common in New England, Dr. Samuel Hopkins became convinced of its wickedness and, with Dr. Stiles (afterwards president of Yale College) made an appeal to the public in behalf of some colored men whom he was preparing to send to Africa as missionaries. The Revolutionary War interfered with his plan. In 1783 Dr. Thornton, of Washington, proposed a colonization scheme and organized about forty New England colored men to go to Africa; his scheme failed for lack of funds. The British Sierra Leone Company in 1786 organized its colony at Sierra Leone for freed blacks. When Thomas Jefferson was President, he made application to the Sierra Leone Company to receive American negroes, but his request failed of effect. From 1800 to 1805 the project of colonization was again discussed. Very

interesting was the work of Paul Cuffy, born in New Bedford, Mass., of negro and Indian parents; he was a man of ability, gained considerable wealth, and owned a vessel; he induced about forty persons to embark with him for Sierra Leone in 1815; they were well received and settled permanently in that colony. Paul Cuffy had larger schemes of colonization and planned to transport a considerable number of American negroes to Africa, but died before his plans were realized.

In 1818 the Society sent Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess to seek a suitable location for the colony. Samuel J. Mills was the young man to whom the work of foreign missions of the United States was largely due; after he graduated from college, he planned to establish a colony in the West; he became interested in a seminary for the education of colored men, who should go to Africa as missionaries, at Parsippany, N. J. Mills and Burgess went by way of England, where they called upon various persons of prominence in the hope of receiving information and advice which might be of use to them. They sailed from the Downs, England, in February, 1818, and were in Sierra Leone before the end of March; they examined the conditions there with interest and then, in company with John Kizell and a Mr. Martin, went farther down the coast; they reached Sherbro Island on the first of April and decided to found the settlement there.

This John Kizell, who was with them as adviser and friend, was a black man, a native of the country some leagues in the interior from Sherbro. His father was a chief of some consequence and so was his uncle. They resided at different towns; and when Kizell was yet a boy he was sent by his father on a visit to his uncle who desired to have the boy with him. On the very night of his arrival the house was attacked. A bloody battle ensued in which his uncle and most of his people were killed. Some escaped, the rest were taken prisoners, and among the latter was Kizell. His father made every effort to release

him, offering slaves and ground for him; but his enemies declared that they would not give him up for any price, and that they would rather put him to death. He was taken to the Gallinhas, put on board of an English ship, and carried as one of a cargo of slaves to Charleston, S. C.—He arrived at Charleston a few years before that city was taken by Sir Henry Clinton. In consequence of the General's proclamation, he, with many other slaves, joined the royal standard.—After the war he was remanded to Nova Scotia from which place he came to Africa in 1792. Kizell had established a small colony of colored people on Sherbro Island. He had prospered in trade, built a church, and was preaching to his countrymen.

Having accomplished the purpose of their journey, the commissioners started again for the United States. On the voyage Mills died.

On March 3, 1819, the Congress of the United States passed an act which was of consequence to the cause of African colonization. It provided that the President of the United States should have authority to seize any Africans captured from American or foreign vessels, attempting to introduce them into the United States in violence of law, and to return them to their own country. It provided also for the establishment of a suitable agency on the African coast for the reception, subsistence, and comfort of these persons until they could be returned to their relatives, or provide for their own support. From the time of the passage of this act the government and the Society worked in practical co-operation.

The first shipment of colonists took place in February, 1820, from New York, by the ship *Elizabeth* which had been chartered by the government. It carried two agents of the United States Government—Rev. Samuel Bacon and John P. Bankson; Dr. Samuel A. Crozer was sent as agent of the American Colonization Society; 88 emigrants accompanied them, who had promised in return for their passage and

other aid of the Government, to prepare suitable accommodations for such Africans as the Government might afterwards send. The expedition went at first to Sierra Leone, thence to Sherbro Island, landing at Campelar, the point chosen by Mills and Burgess for settlement. The place was badly selected. Practically the whole company suffered frightfully from fever. Bacon, Bankson, and Crozer, all died, together with many of the colonists.

A second party was sent out in 1821 in the *Nautilus*, a vessel chartered by the United States Government. It carried two agents of the government—J. B. Winn and Ephraim Bacon—and two agents of the colony—Joseph R. Andrus and Christian Wiltberger. Some emigrants accompanied them. On their arrival at Sierra Leone, the emigrants were left at Fourah Bay, while Bacon and Andrus went on down the coast in search of a suitable situation for settlement.

In this search they went as far as Grand Bassa. Soon after they returned to Sierra Leone, Mr. and Mrs. Bacon were invalided home; shortly afterwards Mr. and Mrs. Winn died of fever; thus Wiltberger was left alone in charge of the settlement, until Dr. Eli Ayres arrived as chief agent of the Society in the autumn. Wiltberger visited Sherbro, and finding the conditions of the settlers serious, he took them with him back to Fourah Bay, Sierra Leone. In December, Capt. Robert F. Stockton, of the *Alligator*, came to the coast with orders to co-operate so far as possible with the agents. Leaving Wiltberger in charge of the colonists at Fourah Bay, Ayres and Stockton made an exploration of the coast. On the 11th they reached Mesurado Bay, and being pleased with the appearance of the district, they sought a palaver with the native chiefs. Making their way through the jungle to the village of the most important chief, they found hundreds of people collected; negotiations were at once begun for land at the mouth of the Mesurado River, upon which a settlement might be made. The busi-

ness was not conducted without excitement and some danger, but Stockton appears to have been a man of parts, and finally a contract was drawn up and signed by six kings, with their marks, and by Ayres and Stockton. The territory secured included all of the cape, the mouth of the river, and the land for some distance into the interior, although the boundaries were left indefinite.

There was a mulatto trader living in this district, by the name of John S. Mill. His friendship was of importance to the enterprise in those early days. Mill was an African by birth, the son of an English merchant who owned a large trading concern on the coast; he had enjoyed a good English education; he was himself the owner of the smaller of the two islands at the mouth of the Mesurado River, and this island was purchased from him for the use of the colony.

Land having been secured, measures were at once taken to remove the colonists from Fourah Bay to Cape Montserrado. Some of them refused to leave, and remained in Sierra Leone, becoming British subjects. It was January 7, 1822, when the colonists under the leadership of Agent Ayres reached their new home. It was soon learned that King Peter had been condemned by the people for the sale of the land, and that the natives desired that the colonists should leave; the vessel, however, was unloaded and preparations for building houses were made. On account of the threatening attitude of the natives, a palaver was held. There was considerable opposition, but the colonists persisted in their efforts. The month of February was a sickly time, and little was done toward settlement. About the middle of February more settlers came from Fourah Bay, and the place was crowded and in bad condition. Agent Ayres was absent in Sierra Leone, when an incident occurred which might have had serious results for the infant colony. The colonists at this time were living on Perseverance Island. A small vessel, prize to an

English schooner, with thirty slaves on board, put in for water at the island. Her cable parting, she drifted ashore and was wrecked. It was the custom of the coast to look upon wrecks as legitimate booty for the people upon whose shore they occurred. King George at once sent his people to take possession of the vessel and the goods, but they were met with resistance by the crew and were repulsed. While the natives were preparing to renew the attack, the Captain sent for help to the colony agent. Though no white man was there in charge, help was promised. A boat was manned and sent to his relief; a brass field piece on the island was brought to bear upon the assailants who were put to rout, with two killed and several wounded. The crew and slaves were brought safely to the land, but the vessel went to pieces and most of the stores and property were lost. The natives were very angry. The next day they resumed the attack, and the British soldiers and one colonist were killed.

On returning from Sierra Leone, April 7, Ayres found the colony in confusion and alarm. The natives had received only a part of the purchased goods for their land. They now refused to receive the balance and insisted on returning what they had received and annulling the transaction. To this the agent would not give consent. They invited him, therefore, to a conference, seized him, and held him until he consented to take back the articles already paid. They insisted that the colonists should leave, but agreed to permit their staying until a purchase could be made elsewhere. Under these circumstances, Agent Ayres appealed to a chief named Boatswain who, after hearing the complaint, decided in favor of the colonists and ordered that the goods should be accepted and the title given. In his decision he said that the bargain had been fair on both sides and that he saw no grounds for rescinding the contract. Turning to King Peter, he remarked: "Having sold your country and accepted payment, you must take the consequences. * * * Let the Americans have their

lands immediately. Whoever is not satisfied with my decision, let him tell me so." To the agents he said: "I promise you protection. If these people give you further disturbance, send for me; and I swear, if they oblige me to come again to quiet them, I will do it by taking their heads from their shoulders, as I did old King George's, on my last visit to the coast to settle disputes."

By the 28th of April the whole colony of immigrants had come from Sierra Leone. Dissatisfied with Perseverance Island, they had moved over on to the higher land of Cape Montserrado and taken formal possession of it. This led to great excitement. There was a palaver at which many kings and half kings were present. Difficulties, however, were still pressing. The rainy season had begun; the houses were not fit for occupancy; fever was prevalent and both agents were suffering; provisions and stores were scanty—almost exhausted; it was realized that hostility on the part of the natives was but slumbering. Dr. Ayres, discouraged, determined to abandon the enterprise and to remove the people and the remaining stores to Sierra Leone. Wiltberger opposed this project, and the colonists also rejected it. A small number indeed accompanied Dr. Ayres to Sierra Leone. The remainder resolved to suffer every hardship, remained, and by July had their houses in fair condition. Soon, however, Wiltberger felt compelled to return to the United States. There was no white man to leave in charge of matters, and a colonist, Elijah Johnson, was appointed temporary superintendent.

It is at this point that Jehudi Ashmun came to Liberia. He was a remarkable man, and to him the colonial enterprise owes much. He was born April 21, 1794; he studied at Middlebury College and Vermont University; in 1816 he was principal of the Maine Charity School; in 1818 he married Miss C. D. Gray, at New York City; resigning his principalship on April 7, 1819, he removed to Washington where, for three years, he edited the *Theological Repository*; he

here thought seriously of entering the ministry; he wrote the *Life of Samuel Bacon*, who had died for the sake of the colonial enterprise; in 1822, June 20th, he embarked upon the brig *Strong*, at Baltimore, having been employed to accompany a cargo of returned Georgian slaves. Mrs. Ashmun accompanied him; they were 81 days upon the voyage; on August 9th they arrived at Cape Montserrado. When Ashmun arrived, a small spot had been cleared, about thirty houses had been constructed in native style, together with a storehouse too small to receive the supplies which had been brought; the rainy season was at its height; the settlers already on the ground were barely supplied with shelter; for the new-comers no provision had been made; though the whole country was hostile, there were no adequate means of defense; the total population of the settlement, including the new-comers, did not exceed 130 persons, of whom thirty-five only were capable of bearing arms.

It was a desperate situation; the erection of a storehouse and of a building to shelter the recaptured Africans was at once begun. The people and the goods were transferred as rapidly as possible from the vessel to the shore. On September 15th, less than six weeks after their arrival, Mrs. Ashmun died of fever, and on December 16th Ashmun himself was taken down and for two months his life was in doubt; it was not until the middle of February, 1823, that he was able to resume his duties.

Between the time of Mrs. Ashmun's death and Ashmun's illness, troubles with the natives reached their culmination. Fortunately the danger had been foreseen and preparations made. Defensive operations began on August 18th. The plan included the clearing of a considerable space around the settlement in order to render concealment of the natives difficult; the stationing of five heavy guns at the angles of a triangle circumscribing the whole settlement, each angle being on a point sufficiently commanding to enfilade two sides of the triangle and sweep the ground

beyond the lines; guns to be covered by musket proof; triangular stockades any two of which should be sufficient to contain all of the settlers in their wings; the brass piece and two swivels mounted on traveling carriages were in the center to support the post suffering heaviest attacks;—all to be joined by a paling carried quite around the settlement. Upon inspecting the matter of the force, it was found that there were only twenty-seven native Americans able to bear arms, when well. On November 7th it was found that an assault had been ordered within four days. Picket guards were set; no man was allowed to sleep before sunrise; patrols of natives were dispersed through the wood in every direction. Trees were felled in order to render approach more difficult. On Sunday, the 10th, it was reported that the enemy were approaching, crossing the Mesurado River a few miles above the settlement. Early in the night from 600 to 900 of them had assembled on the peninsula half a mile west, where they encamped. The attack itself was made at early dawn; it was vigorous, and at first the enemy had the distinct advantage; had they pressed it instead of delaying for looting, they would perhaps have won the day; as it was, the settlers recovered themselves and gained the victory. The number of the hostile dead could only be estimated; it could hardly have been less than 200 persons; the colonists had some dead and several wounded. The entire force of the settlers at the moment of the combat was thirty-five individuals of whom six were native youths not sixteen years of age; of this number only about one-half were actually engaged in fighting. Lott Carey and Elijah Johnson were notable for bravery in this defense. Attempts were made to bring about a treaty of peace with the enemy; these efforts were ineffective, and it was well known that a new attack might be expected. Nothing could be secured in the way of supplies from the surrounding country; all were put upon an allowance of provisions; the ammunition on hand was insufficient for an hour's

defense; it was impossible to know anything about the movement of the enemy, as there were no natives left in the settlement. Seven children had fallen into the hands of the native foe. November 23rd was observed as a day of humiliation, thanksgiving, and prayer. Two days later a passing steamer was able to give some relief in stores. On the 29th Capt. Brasse, aided with stores and by his influence, which was considerable, tried to bring about a peace with the hostile chiefs. It was in vain; the enemy had planned destruction that very night, but delayed the attack on account of his presence with his vessel. Guard was kept the night of the 29th, the 30th, December 1st; the attack was made at 4:30 in the morning of the 2d from two sides. How many were in the attacking force is not known, but there were more than in the first great battle; the battle lasted for more than an hour and a half and was most obstinately conducted; the loss of the enemy, though considerable, was less than in the preceding battle; one of the gunners of the colonists was killed. Conditions were so desperate that a renewal of the battle the following day might have proved fatal to the settlers. A seeming accident brought deliverance. An officer on watch, in the middle of the night, is said to have been alarmed by some slight noise; on hearing it, he discharged several muskets and a large gun. At that moment the schooner *Prince Regent* was passing; the well known Major Laing was aboard, and a prize crew of eleven seamen commanded by Midshipman Gordon; they were on their way to Cape Coast Castle, but, hearing midnight cannon, anchored in order to investigate with morning's light; when they found the condition of things, Capt. Laing intervened in behalf of the colonists and brought about a truce; the chiefs agreed to refer matters of dispute, which might thereafter arise, to Sierra Leone for settlement. Midshipman Gordon and his eleven men were left behind to assist the colonists in case of need, and a plentiful supply of ammunition was given them. Gordon was a great

favorite with the settlers; he was, however, together with his companions, quickly taken down with fever, and within four weeks he and seven out of his eleven men were dead.

We have already stated that seven children of the colonists had been captured by the enemy. Ashmun tells us: "Two of the captured children have been given up in consideration of a small gratuity. Five are still in the hands of the natives; for their relief a very extravagant ransom was demanded which it was steadily resolved not to pay . . . redeeming trait . . . in their treatment of these helpless and tender captives. It was the first object of the captors to place them under the maternal care of several aged women, who, in Africa, as in most countries, are proverbially tender and indulgent. These protectresses had them clad in their usual habits and at an early period of the truce, sent to the colony to inquire the proper kinds of food, and modes of preparing it, to which the youngest had been accustomed. The affections of their little charges were so perfectly won in the four months of their captivity as to oblige their own parents, at the end of that time, literally to tear away from their keepers several of the youngest amidst the most affectionate demonstrations of mutual attachment. This event did not occur until the 12th of March, when their gratuitous redemption was voted almost unanimously in a large council of native chiefs."

We have referred to Elijah Johnson. He was an extraordinary man. His parentage is quite unknown; June 11, 1789, he was taken to New Jersey; he had had some instruction, gained perhaps in New York; by religion he was a methodist and had studied for the ministry; he had had some experience in military life in New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts; he had fought in the war of 1812 against the British; he came to Africa with the first colony of emigrants in 1820; in 1822 he was one of the founders of the settlement at Cape Montserrado; when Ayres proposed the abandonment of the enterprise, he vigor-

ously opposed him, and his influence had much to do with holding his fellow colonists; to the British captain who, on the occasion of a difficulty, offered to quell the trouble with the natives if he be given ground for the erection of a flag, Johnson is said to have replied, "We want no flagstaff put up here, that will cost us more to get it down than it will to whip the natives." When Wiltberger left the colony entirely to itself, it was Johnson who was put in charge; his son, born in Africa, became President of the Republic; Elijah Johnson died March 23, 1849.

March 31, 1823, the United States ship, *Cyane*, Capt. Spencer, reached Cape Montserrado. Finding the colonists in bad condition, the Captain supplied their wants; he repaired the agent's house, commenced and nearly completed the Martello tower—for defense; after three weeks' assistance so much fever had sprung up among his crew that he was obliged to depart, sailing for the United States. He, however, left behind as helper, Richard Seaton, his chief clerk. Seaton assisted Ashmun and the colonists so far as he could but was himself stricken by fever and died in June. On May 24th the *Oswego* arrived with sixty-one new colonists; the agent, Dr. Ayres, who seems to have thought better of matters, returned by this vessel. About this time, however, the whole community was rife with intrigue and rebellion; the settlers were dissatisfied with their situation; they were particularly dissatisfied with the distribution of land about which misunderstanding had arisen. The steps Ayres took for bringing about peace were not successful, and in December he left again for the United States.

It was on February 20, 1824, that the official names of Liberia for the colony and Monrovia for the settlement on Cape Montserrado were adopted on recommendation of General Harper. Previous to this time the settlement had been known by the name Christopolis. Things at Christopolis had been going badly. Even Ashmun could no longer get on with the set-

tlers; perhaps it would be as true to say that even the settlers could not get on with Ashmun. However that may be, on March 22nd he issued a farewell address in which he expressed his feelings in regard to the disaffected, and on April 1st he embarked for the Cape Verde Islands. There is no reason to believe, so far as I know, that he had any intention of returning again to his field of labor. He had had a most unsatisfactory and disagreeable correspondence with the Society, and his tenure of office with them was vague and unsatisfactory; they had refused to recognize some of his official acts and conditions could hardly have been more disagreeable than they were at the moment.

Rev. R. R. Gurley had been ordered by the Society to visit Africa and investigate conditions at the colony. On July 24th the *Porpoise*, which was carrying him to Monrovia, put in at Porto Praya where Ashmun was stopping; he went on board to meet Gurley, and there they had their first conversation over the state of affairs; Ashmun consented to return to Monrovia and assist Gurley in getting a general knowledge of conditions. Together they reached Monrovia on August 13th; Gurley stayed until August 22nd; the two men went over the details of the situation, held consultations with the settlers, and drew up a plan of government more definite than had before existed, and which the discontented settlers agreed to accept.

After Gurley had departed conditions at the colony greatly improved; the new laws and the participation of the colonists in their own government had an excellent effect; every one appeared loyal and all united to advance the common interests. New lands were acquired in the neighborhood of Grand Bassa, New Cess, Cape Mount, and Junk River. In 1826 difficulties arose with the slave traders at Trade Town, about 100 miles south from Monrovia. Ashmun had remonstrated against their operations. In reply the French and Spanish traders proceeded to strengthen

themselves; the traders were organized and some 350 natives were under their command. Ashmun decided to take vigorous action against them. On April 9th the Columbian war vessel, *Jacinto*, arrived at Monrovia with orders to co-operate with Dr. Peaco, the United States Government agent, and Mr. Ashmun; on April 10th Ashmun and thirty-two militia volunteers embarked upon the *Jacinto*, and the *Indian Chief* (Capt. Cochrane), and sailed for Trade Town where they arrived on the 11th, finding the Columbian vessel *Vencedor*, there, ready to assist them. The three vessels united in the attack, attempting to make a landing on the morning of the 12th; the surf was breaking heavily over the bar and the passage was only eight yards wide with rocks on both sides. The barges, full of armed men, were in great danger; the Spanish force was drawn up on the beach within half a gunshot of the barges; the two barges with Captains Chase and Cottrell were exposed to the enemy's fire and filled with surf before reaching the shore; their crews, however, landed and forced the Spaniards back to the town. The flagboat with Ashmun and Capt. Cochrane and twenty-four men was upset and dashed upon the rocks; Ashmun was injured; some arms and ammunition were lost. Capt. Barbour, observing the difficulties encountered by the other boats, ran his boat on to the beach a little to the left of the river's mouth, and landed safely. The town was captured; the natives and Spaniards took to the forest, and from behind the town poured in shot at frequent intervals; the contest continued through two days; more than 80 slaves were surrendered, but no actual adjustment of the difficulties was arrived at. At noon of the 13th, preparations were made to leave; the slaves were first embarked, and in the middle of the afternoon, the town having been fired, the officers took to the boats; before the vessel sailed the fire reached the ammunition of the enemy, and 250 casks of gunpowder were exploded; Trade Town was wiped out, and the victorious party returned to Mon-

rovia. It was indeed only a temporary solution of the difficulty; by the end of July slaving vessels were again at Trade Town, a battery had been constructed, and preparations made to resist any force that might in future be sent against it.

On August 27, 1827, the *Norfolk* arrived with 142 recaptured slaves; this was the largest shipment of the kind so far sent. The policy was adopted of settling such Africans in settlements by themselves at a little distance from Monrovia, on lands well suited to agriculture; it is remarkable how readily these poor creatures took advantage of the opportunities offered them; they were industrious, established neat settlements, cultivated fields, and were anxious to learn the ways of the "white man"; as, however, they represented different tribes, occasional difficulties arose among them through tribal jealousies, and adjustment was necessary at the hands of the civilized colonists.

Ashmun's health had long been bad; the injuries he suffered in the attack at Trade Town had been somewhat serious; he had, moreover, been subjected to a constant strain of anxiety, together with responsibility; he had been doing the work of several men; his condition finally became critical, and he decided that he must leave the colony. Whatever feeling might have existed at one time against him, he was now a much loved man; in losing him, the colonists felt as if they lost a father; he embarked on March 25th for the United States; he reached his native land in a condition of extreme exhaustion and weakness; on August 25th he died at New Haven, Conn. There was no white man in the colony at the time when Ashmun left to whom he could turn over the leadership of the settlement; he accordingly placed affairs in the hands of Lott Carey.

Lott Carey was a remarkable black man; he was born a slave near Richmond, Va., about 1780; in his early manhood he was rather wild; in 1804 he went to Richmond where he worked for a tobacco com-

pany; becoming converted in 1807, he joined the Baptist Church; he learned to read and write, and preached among his people; he was well considered by his employers and earned \$800 a year as a regular salary, besides frequently making additional sums by legitimate outside labor; by carefully saving his money, he raised \$850, ransoming himself and two children; his wife had died in 1813; becoming interested in African missions, he took to preaching, organized a missionary society, and through it raised contributions for the cause; he had married again, and learning of the Liberian scheme, early becoming interested, and decided to go to Africa; on January 23, 1821, he left Richmond for the colony; he was a most useful man—active in church work, interested in school affairs, instructing the recaptured Africans, aiding in the care of the sick and suffering; he had been of the disaffected, but after difficulties had been adjusted, was a firm friend and supporter of Ashmun. When left in charge of the colony, he actively pushed on in every line of progress, dealing fairly with the natives, arranging for defense, encouraging development, etc. In June, when three suspicious Spanish vessels stood off the harbor, he lost no time in dealing with them, ordering them away at once. Trouble, however, was arising with the natives. A factory belonging to the colony at Digby had been robbed; satisfaction had been demanded and refused; a slave trader was allowed to land goods in the very house where the colony goods had been; a letter of remonstrance to the trader was intercepted and destroyed by the natives. Lott Carey called out the militia and began to make arrangements for a show of force; on the evening of November 8th, while he and several others were making cartridges in the old agency-house, a candle caught some loose powder and caused an explosion which resulted in the death of eight persons; six of these survived until the 9th, Lott Carey and one other until the 10th. With his death the settlement was left without a head. Shortly be-

fore that sad event, however,—on October 28, 1828, a new constitution and laws, suggested by Ashmun shortly before his death, had been adopted by the Colonization Society and been put into operation. It was in every way an advance upon the previous efforts to organize the administration of the colony, and it may be said to mark a period in the colonial history.

"Instead of repenting that I am here, although I was well treated in Georgia, I would not return to live in the United States for five thousand dollars. There is scarcely a thinking person here but would feel insulted, if you should talk to him about returning. The people are now turning their attention to the cultivation of the soil, and are beginning to live within their own means."—S. BENEDICT.

1828—1838.

Richard Randall, the newly appointed agent, arrived at Monrovia on December 22, 1828. He found the Digby incident still unsettled. King Brister (or Bristol) had been threatening. Randall thought it best, however, not to pursue active warfare and attempted to adjust matters without fighting. He was a man of excellent ideas, devoted to his duties, active and energetic. He was imprudent, however, in caring for himself, and died on April 19th, having been in the colony only about four months. He was succeeded by Dr. Mechlin who had come out with him as physician in December. Mechlin remained as agent for some years, although, on account of bad health, he was obliged to return once during that period to the United States. It was during his agency that the first printing press was erected in Monrovia, in 1830, and the first newspaper, *The Liberian Herald*, was printed with J. B. Russwurm as editor. It was in 1830 that Mechlin took his furlough to the United States; he was at first relieved by Dr. J. W. Anderson who died on April 12th, having been in Liberia less than two months; upon his death, the vice-agent, Anthony D. Williams, took charge until the return of Dr. Mechlin. Mechlin negotiated several treaties with native chiefs and increased the land holding of the colony through purchase; he visited Grand Bassa and negotiated for land around Cape Mount; it

was during his administration that the Dey-Golah War took place. He seems to have been a well-meaning man, and certainly accomplished something, but there was considerable dissatisfaction with his administration, and when he left, it was questioned whether he was a good financier and used judgment and economy in administering money matters.

One of the most exciting incidents in the history of Liberia was the Dey-Golah War of 1832. Hostilities had been threatened against the colony by King Bromley, but he died before serious difficulty occurred. It was soon found that the Deys and others were combining; deeds of violence were practiced against the colonists and recaptured Africans; captives had been taken by King Willy; a messenger was sent to demand their release, but the letter was torn up and the messenger told to inform the agent that they would seize and hold every colonist they could find. The next day the enemy, standing on the river bank opposite Caldwell, blew war horns, fired muskets, and challenged the colonists; a body of recaptured Africans, 100 in number, was sent against them; finding a large force gathered, they were driven back, and one man was killed. The enemy barricaded their own town, and sent word that, if the colonists did not promptly meet them in the field, they would attack Caldwell and Millsburg; the Golah were acting with the Dey in this affair. Meehlin left Monrovia on June 20th, with the regular militia and volunteers, eighty in all; they had a large field piece with them; at Caldwell they were joined by seventy volunteers and militia, and 120 recaptured Africans; all were placed under Capt. Elijah Johnson. One day's march from Caldwell brought the force to Bromley's town which they took without trouble, camping there for the night; the next day they advanced over an exceedingly difficult road—seven hours being required for ten miles' progress; after mid-day the recaptured Africans, who were in advance, were engaged with the enemy; the field piece was brought up until only

twenty-five or thirty yards from the barricaded town. A few firings forced the enemy to abandon their position; under cover of the field piece, the colonists now rushed forward and cut through the barricade; the field piece was advanced and the town captured, the enemy escaping in the rear. In this engagement Lieutenant Thompson, of the colony force, was killed and three men wounded; of the enemy fifteen were killed and many wounded. The captured town was burned and also Bromley; the force returned to Caldwell for the night and then to Monrovia. Lieutenant Thompson was interred with the honors of war. Messengers promptly arrived from Kings Willy and Brister; Mechlin demanded that the kings themselves appear in person at Monrovia; Brister, Sitma, Long Peter, and Kai appeared; Willy sent New Peter as his representative; they agreed to the terms offered and a treaty of peace was signed.

It was also during Mechlin's agency that the colonization of Maryland in Africa began. In 1831 Dr. James Hall with 31 colonists from the Maryland Colonization Society stopped at Monrovia; they had been sent out to locate a settlement where the colonists should devote themselves exclusively to agriculture (refusing trade) and should be devoted to temperance principles; they were not received with cordiality by the people at Monrovia, and no particular inclination was shown to aid them in securing a site for their purposes; Dr. Hall, therefore, left them temporarily at Monrovia, while he returned to the United States for advice and further supplies; he returned in 1833 with 28 new colonists; taking those who were at Monrovia, all sailed farther down the coast until, at Cape Palmas, they found a location to their satisfaction; they landed there, engaged in negotiations with the native chiefs, and founded what was at first known as Maryland in Africa; it was entirely distinct from the settlements under the direction of the American Colonization Society.

About this time there was a tendency for local

branch organizations of the American Colonization Society to be formed and to undertake their own settlements, although these were not considered to be actually independent of the mother society and of the people at Monrovia. Considerable settlements had been made in the neighborhood of Grand Bassa. Among these, one of the most promising was Edina which was laid out upon a tongue of land upon the north side of the St. John's River; it was named Edina from Edinburgh, Scotland, citizens of which had contributed quite liberally to the funds of the American Colonization Society. After Edina was founded, a neighboring settlement was made through the efforts of the Pennsylvania Young Men's Colonization Society—an organization of Friends; it was organized with the idea that agriculture should be the chief interest; that trade as a means of income should be forbidden; that temperance and sobriety, involving a pledge of abstinence, should be demanded; and that war and resistance should be forbidden. Non-resistance and peace-principles, however, were not in place at that time and region; in 1835 this little colony was wiped out of existence by a brutal attack on the part of natives instigated by a slave trader who feared that the presence of the colonists would interrupt his trade. Joe Harris and King Peter, brothers, were the active agents of destruction; for several days their people spied upon the settlers, informing themselves whether any arms were in the place; there was one gun only there; the assault took place at night, and about 20 persons, mostly women and children, were killed; the agent Hankinson and his wife were rescued by a Kruman who concealed them; those who escaped were taken to Monrovia and cared for; the authorities at Monrovia took immediate action, marched an armed force against the aggressors, put them to flight, and destroyed their towns; King Peter and Joe Harris agreed to forever abandon the slave trade, to give free passage from the interior through their country, to rebuild the settlement, and

return the property; a better spot was selected and a new settlement made.

When Mechlin returned to the United States, Rev. John B. Pinney, who was already in Liberia as a missionary, succeeded him. He found everything in a state of confusion and dilapidation; himself a man of vigor, he acted promptly and made notable improvements; he attempted to give agriculture its proper position as the fundamental interest of the community; he purchased fertile lands in the interior for cultivation; he emphasized the claims of Liberia to lands lying behind Cape Mount; he adjusted difficulties between the Congoes and Eboes, recaptured Africans; had he remained long in office, he might perhaps have accomplished much. He, however, left Liberia at the end of 1834 for home. Dr. Ezekiel Skinner took his position; at the time of Pinney's retirement he was the colonial physician. His labors were arduous and multiform; in performing them he suffered repeated exposures which brought on a serious fever under which he was reduced so low that he was obliged to return to the United States, leaving Anthony D. Williams as agent in his place.

Williams, in fact, seems to have been agent at intervals from the time of Randall's death until he gave way to Thomas Buchanan in 1839. Inasmuch as most authorities speak of him as if he were a white man, it may be well to raise the question. Late in November, 1836, Rev. Charles Rockwell, chaplain of the United States Navy, was in Liberia. In his *Sketches of Foreign Travel* he says: "Mr. Williams, who has for years been the acting-governor of Monrovia, took the lead in entertaining us and in doing the honors of the place. He was from Petersburg, Va., where, if I mistake not, he was once a slave. He has a peculiarly modest, sedate, gentlemanly deportment, and during his repeated visits to the United States has, by his intelligent and good sense, justly secured the esteem and confidence of those with whom he had intercourse. He came to Africa as a clergy-

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man of the Methodist Church, and for a year or more was engaged in the self-denying work of a missionary among the natives at a distance of 150 miles in the interior. Under the title of vice-agent, he has for years been head (actively) of the colony, and as far as I could learn, has so discharged the duties of his office as to secure the confidence alike of his fellow citizens and of the society from which he received his appointment." When, in 1839, he gave up the agency to Thomas Buchanan as Governor of the newly established Commonwealth of Liberia, the Board of the Colonization Society expressed itself as well satisfied with his long services; but it was their opinion "that the time had not yet arrived when the interests of the colony would permit it to remain permanently under the direction of a colonist." It would seem as if these two quotations amply establish the fact that Williams was a colored man; we have thought it worth while to raise the question, inasmuch as his services were serious, and if rendered by a black man, deserve special recognition.

With the year 1836 there arrived in Africa a man of great ability and extraordinary energy, Thomas H. Buchanan; he was sent out as the agent of the New York and Pennsylvania Societies to take charge of their settlements at Bassa Cove; these settlements recognized the superior authority of Monrovia and the American Colonization Society; but it was deemed better that they should have a special superintendent in charge of them. It is well enough to notice that, at this time, there were three totally different associations at work within the area of what now is Liberia, besides Maryland; there was the original settlement of Monrovia on Cape Montserrado with extensions in the direction of Cape Mount and the Junk River; this district included Monrovia and several villages around it; "the people were not much given to agriculture; they were shrewd at driving trade and better liked to compete for some gallons of palm oil or sticks of camwood than to be doing their duty to their fields

and gardens;" politics and military concerns occupied considerable of their attention, and they were called upon to adjust claims with the neighboring settlements. Secondly, there were the Bassa Cove villages; there were several of these in the neighborhood of the St. John's River; they depended mainly upon agriculture and trade; they encouraged temperance and desired peace. Third, there were interesting settlements in Sinoe along the Sinoe River upon its rich agricultural lands; Greenville was a flourishing town; the settlers in this vicinity came from Mississippi, and their region was known as Mississippi in Africa.

Just as the New York and Pennsylvania Societies engaged a special governor to take charge of their settlements, so the Mississippi Society sent out a special governor to take charge of Mississippi in Africa. The appointment was of special interest in the person of I. F. C. Finley. Governor Finley was a son of the Rev. Robert Finley, to whom the organization of the American Colonization Society was in reality due. In September, 1838, Governor Finley left for Monrovia on business as well as for his health; making a landing in the neighborhood of the Bassa Cove settlements, he was robbed and murdered by the natives on September 10th; it is believed that the motive to this murder was the desire for gain, as the Governor had considerable money upon his person. The murder led to disturbance between the settlers at Bassa Cove and the natives who were implicated; one or two of the latter were killed, several wounded, and some houses were destroyed.

One rather interesting incident in connection with the Bassa settlements was the experience of Louis Sheriden. He was a colored man of some means from North Carolina, who came to Liberia in February, 1838; he at first planned to settle at Bassa Cove, but on visiting the settlements and examining the laws of their government, he was dissatisfied and refused to take the oath required of those who became citizens, saying that he had "left the United States on

account of oppression and that he would not subject himself to arbitrary government in Africa"; he finally decided to locate at Bexley, six miles from Bassa Cove; he took a lease of 600 acres and soon had more than a hundred men in his employ; his intention was to develop an extensive sugar and coffee plantation, but he died before his plan could be realized.

An interesting man in this period, although but indirectly connected with the colony, was Theodore Canot; he was born in Florence in 1803 and had a life of excitement and adventure; in 1826 he became a slave trader; he finally located with Pedro Blanco at Gallinhas, and was sent by him to New Cess; he was a witness of the Finley murder; after Blanco retired from the slave trade, Canot, being hard pressed by the British officers, decided to abandon the business also. He finally retired to New York, where he met with Brantz Mayer, who wrote a book which purported to be autobiographical material supplied by the old adventurer. Canot not infrequently came into contact with the Liberian authorities. He must have known the whole colonial experiment better than almost any other white man. Of Liberia he says: "Nevertheless, the prosperity, endurance, and influence of the colonies are still problems. I am anxious to see the second generation of colonists in Africa. I wish to know what will be the force and development of the negro mind on its native soil—civilized, but cut off from all instruction, influence, or association with the white mind. I desire to understand, precisely, whether the negro's faculties are original or imitative, and consequently, whether he can stand alone in absolute independence, or is only respectable when reflecting the civilization that is cast upon him by others."

As was to be expected, considerable feeling arose between the four separate colonies—Liberia, Bassa Cove, Mississippi in Africa, and Maryland. Thus, in May, 1838, Anthony D. Williams wrote: I regret to

say, our neighbors of Bassa Cove and Edina seem to entertain the most hostile feelings toward the colony and everything connected with it. They have manifested such a disposition as will, if continued, lead to serious difficulties between the settlements. The policy which the colonizationists are now pursuing is assuredly a bad one and will inevitably defeat the object they aim to accomplish. Nothing can be conceived more destructive to the general good than separate and conflicting interests among the different colonies, and this consequence will certainly follow the establishment of separate and distinct sovereignties contiguous to each other." This was felt to be a serious problem; after due consideration, an effort was made to more strongly unite the colonies outside of Maryland; a new constitution was accordingly drawn up by Professor Greenleaf, of Harvard College, the name "Commonwealth of Liberia" was adopted, and Thomas Buchanan, who had been governor of the Grand Bassa settlements, was appointed governor of the newly organized commonwealth. We have already referred to him as a man of vigor and enthusiasm; it is seldom indeed that Liberia has had an equally capable director.

“It is not every man that we can honestly advise, or desire to come to this country. To those who are contented to live and educate their children as house servants and lackeys, we would say *stay where you are*; here we have no masters to employ you. To the indolent, heedless and slothful, we would say, tarry among the flesh-pots of Egypt; here we get our bread by the sweat of our brow. To drunkards and rioters, we would say, come not to us; you never can become naturalized in a land where there are no grog-shops and where temperance and order is the motto. To the timorous and suspicious, we would say, stay where you have protectors; here we protect ourselves. But the industrious, enterprising, and patriotic, of whatever occupation, or enterprise—the mechanic, the merchant, the farmer, and especially the latter, we would counsel, advise, and entreat, to come over and be one with us, and assist us in this glorious enterprise, and enjoy with us that to which we ever were, and to which the man of color ever must be a stranger, in America.”

1838—1847.

Governor Buchanan had scarcely come to power when he was forced to take vigorous action against the slave traders at Trade Town; he assumed the right of jurisdiction over the entire territory along the Little Bassa seaboard; he ordered a trader, who had been there established for some months, to leave within a given time or suffer the confiscation of his entire property; the man had received two similar orders from Anthony D. Williams, but had treated them with contempt; to Buchanan's order he returned a courteous reply; he promised obedience, but asked delay until a vessel should come to take his goods; this was granted on condition of his desisting entirely from slave trading in the meantime. About this time an English trader established a regular trade factory at the same place; he put some goods ashore in charge of a native agent; Buchanan ordered him off under threat of seizing his goods; he treated the messenger rudely and refused obedience. Meantime

the slave trader had been negotiating with native kings for their protection; he added to his stores, extended his barracoön, and paid no attention to remonstrance. On the 18th of April, without previous announcement, Buchanan ordered a military parade at 7 P. M.; he stated the facts, declared his intention of proceeding in force against Trade Town, and called for forty volunteers who were soon secured; the next day he sent to New Georgia for twenty-five volunteers—they sent him thirty-five. He then chartered two small schooners, and sent them, together with the government schooner *Providence*, with ammunition, by sea to join the land forces for co-operation; on Monday, the 22nd, at 9 A. M., the land force took up the march under Elijah Johnson; in despatching his soldiers, the Governor told them that they were not out for war and plunder, but to sustain a civil officer in the discharge of his duty; he urged them to conduct themselves in an orderly manner with obedience and discipline. When the force actually started, about 100 men were in line. The fleet found bad winds and currents; after thirty-six hours' struggle in trying to make Trade Town, it reappeared at Monrovia. The case looked desperate, as the men sent overland had little ammunition or food. At this moment Sir Francis Russell arrived and placed the fast *Euphrates* at the disposition of the government; arms and ammunition were at once loaded, Buchanan went in person, and the next morning they were at anchor in front of Little Bassa. The battle was already on; the barracoön, a circular palisade ten feet high, enclosed some half-dozen native houses, from which firing was going on; the opening in the forest was about 150 yards from the shore; it was difficult to know what to do, as it was impossible to recognize which was the friendly party; the *Euphrates*, well known as a slaving vessel, would be mistaken; the landing-party would be fired upon by its friends; an American seaman volunteered to perform the dangerous feat of carrying a letter to the

shore; Elijah Johnson, seeing a white man landing from the canoe, made a sally with his forces to destroy him; his real character was only recognized when the natives were on the point of knifing him: Johnson's party rushed out and saved him. As soon as his messenger was ashore, Buchanan started with two boats for the beach; the terrified Kru, whom they met in canoes before landing, told them that the woods on both sides of the path were lined with natives and the woods behind alive with them; when their boat was about fifty yards from the beach, a party of five or six came out to attack the new-comers; Buchanan stood and fired into them and they scattered. In landing, his canoe was capsized and he was nearly drowned. Huzzas greeted the relieving party; the defense was vigorously resumed; the houses outside of the barracoon, fifteen or twenty in number, had given cover to the natives; Buchanan ordered them to be destroyed, which was promptly done. Johnson with a party of thirty or forty was then ordered to drive the enemy from their forest shelter; this he did, and the axe-men felled trees so as to clear the space around. The enemy kept firing all day, scattering whenever a rush was made; Buchanan himself led two such charges. The Krumen were now employed in loading the property which had been seized by the government party, a task which continued through the day under the protection of the soldiers. The next morning firing was renewed from a dozen places at once; a pursuing party set out; Johnson led on; he was twice wounded and also three of his men, though not seriously. As ammunition was almost gone, Buchanan hurried in the *Euphrates* to Monrovia, where he arrived late at night; the next morning forty additional volunteers were taken on board, together with two field pieces, 14,000 ball cartridges, etc., etc. The vessel met with contrary winds and was delayed. As they neared their destination a large brig was seen apparently making for the anchorage ground; it was believed to be a brig of

the English trader whose factory had been destroyed; the decks of the *Euphrates* were cleared for action and a six-pounder made ready. The brig turned, however, and was soon out of sight. On landing, Buchanan found that there had been no fighting since he left; messengers were sent out to the native chiefs, Prince and Bah Gay, demanding instant surrender of the slaves, who, on the appearance of the force, had been turned over by the slavers to the natives; the captured goods were finally all loaded, the wounded were sent on board, and everything was prepared for the return; though the chiefs failed to turn in all the slaves, some were surrendered. As the main objects of the expedition had been gained, the party returned to Monrovia.

From 1838 to 1840 there had been war between the Dey and Golah tribes in which the Golah gained the advantage. The Dey suffered so much that their remnant took refuge in the colony. A number of them were living on the farms of colonists near Millsburg; suddenly Gatumba, a Golah chief, burst upon them, wounding four dreadfully and carrying twelve into slavery; the entire number would have been killed or captured had not the colonists, hearing guns, appeared and rescued them. The attackers fled. Notice was sent to Governor Buchanan, and he at once hastened thither; he prepared for difficulties and kept strict watch; a letter was sent to Gatumba, demanding an explanation and requesting a palaver at Millsburg; an insulting reply was returned; Gatumba intimated that he was prepared for battle, did not intend to attack the Americans, but would not permit their interference. Returning to Monrovia, Buchanan assembled his principal officers, laid the matter before them, and proposed attacking Gatumba's colony before he should attack Millsburg. His officers thought it best to send another message to the chief; five messengers were sent, were fired upon, and three of them were taken prisoners. Several days passed when, on March 8, 1840, Gatumba burst

upon Heddington and would have murdered everybody in the place had they not in a measure been prepared. The battle took place at the house of Missionary Brown; two Americans from Caldwell were living with Brown at the time; a desperate attack was made at daybreak by from 300 to 400 men; against them were three black Americans sheltered by the house; all had guns and considerable ammunition; the attack was frightful, and the numbers great; the battle continued for almost an hour, and the ammunition was nearly gone; Gotorah, a notable cannibal, at the head of his best warriors, made a rush and came within ten feet of the door; Harris, handed a loaded gun by a town native, poured a heavy charge into the advancing leader, who fell hideously mangled; his fall caused panic and flight to his followers. The battle over, notice of the event was sent to Buchanan, who was at Little Bassa; hastening to Heddington, he found the place fortified in preparation for a second attack; the people above the settlement were in alarm; Gatumba was reported to be preparing for vengeance. Buchanan determined upon immediate attack on Gatumba's town; with 200 men, arms, ammunition, and a week's provisions, they were to start in boats for Millsburg. Rumors of an approaching hostile force delayed their departure; but, on the second day, embarkation was made and Millsburg reached; from there the line of march was taken by 300 men with a piece of artillery; sixty of the party were Kru carriers and forty were native allies, so that the really effective force consisted of some 200 men; the cannon was dragged for six miles with great labor and was then abandoned; the rain was falling in torrents when, at two o'clock, they reached a ruined walled town which had at one time been destroyed by Gatumba; as some huts still stood and the site was high, a camp was made. The next day the line was formed again and, in spite of the flooded trail and swollen streams, the party continued to Gatumba's town. As they neared, an attack upon

them was made from ambush and Capt. Snetter fell mortally wounded; the men rushed forward and dislodged the enemy; the music struck up, and a lively advance was made; for nearly six miles they were exposed to shooting from the thick forest, but rushed on; the town was found well barricaded; Buchanan ran up with his aids, Col. Lewis and Gen. Roberts, to the margin of the open field, where he found Johnson vigorously engaged with the people of the town and with an ambush; the third company now came up and joined the combat. Such was the vigor of their attack that the enemy, taken with panic, rushed from the town by a rear gate into the forest; the Liberian forces entered in triumph. By this victory the strength of Gatumba was completely prostrated.

During Buchanan's administration a serious difficulty arose with the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The superintendent of its interests at the time was the Rev. John Seyes; he was a man of considerable ability and force of character, but was highly opinionated; the mission had found that trade goods was the best means of remitting from their treasury in America to their stations in Africa; it was the ruling of the colony that goods necessary for carrying on the work of missions should be admitted free of duty; a difference arose between Governor Buchanan and Mr. Seyes in reference to the goods being introduced by the mission for trading purposes with natives—Buchanan holding, very justly, that free admission should be granted only for supplies for the personal use of missionaries. The undutiable goods introduced by the missionaries enabled them to undersell the colonial merchants, who had to pay the regular fees. The Governor was firm in his attitude and demanded that all goods which were to be used for trade purposes should pay their duties; the Colonization Society stood behind the Governor in his course; the community, however, was rent in twain—great excitement prevailed—and

there were practically two parties, the Seyes people and the government supporters.

In 1840 it was evident that there was destined to be serious trouble with English traders settling in the neighborhood of the Mano River. On account of threatening complications, Buchanan sent an agent to England to inquire as to the purposes of such settlers and the attitude of the British Government in the matter. On September 3, 1841, Buchanan died at Bassa Cove. His death was a serious loss, but fortunately the man was ready who was competent to take up his work and carry it through to a successful conclusion.

This man was Joseph Jenkin Roberts, who was appointed Governor by the Colonization Society and who held the office for six years; at the end of that time the Society itself severed its relation to the settlements. Roberts was a mulatto; he was born in Virginia, in 1809; he went to Liberia in 1829 and at once engaged in trade; he was at the head of the Liberian force in its war against Gatumba. His six years of governorship were on the whole successful ones, although it was at this time that difficulties began with France. In 1842 the French Government attempted to secure a foothold at Cape Mount, Bassa Cove, Butu, and Garawé; this occurrence caused considerable anxiety, but the matter seemed to be finished without serious results; long afterwards this attempt was made the basis of claims which troubled the Republic. Roberts recognized the importance of strengthening Liberian titles to territory; he pursued an active policy of acquiring new areas and strengthening the hold of the Commonwealth upon its older possessions. John B. Russwurm was at this time the Governor of Maryland; Roberts consulted with him in regard to public policy, and between them they agreed upon the levying of uniform 6 per cent ad valorem duties upon all imports. During his governorship Roberts visited the United States; he was well received and made a good impression; as

a result of his visit, an American squadron visited the coast of West Africa; difficulties, however, were brewing; Roberts found the English and other foreigners unwilling to pay customs duties; they took the ground that Liberia was not an actual government and had no right to levy duties on shipping and foreign trade. On account of its failure to pay duties, the *Little Ben*, an English trading boat, was seized; in retaliation the *John Seyes*, belonging to a Liberian named Benson, was seized and sold for £2000. Appeals were made to the United States and to the Society for support; the United States made some inquiries of the British Government; the American representations, however, were put modestly and half-heartedly; to them Great Britain replied that she "could not recognize the sovereign powers of Liberia, which she regarded as a mere commercial experiment of a philanthropic society." It was clear that a crisis had been reached; the Society of course could do nothing; the American Government was timid in its support; if Liberia was to act at all, she must act for herself. Recognizing the situation, in 1846 the Society resolved that it was "expedient for the people to take into their own hands" the management of their affairs, and severed relations which had bound Liberia to it. The Liberians themselves called for a constitutional convention, which began its session the 25th of June, 1847; on July 26th the Declaration of Independence was made and the Constitution of the Liberian Republic was adopted. The flag consisted of eleven stripes, alternately red and white; the field, blue, bore a single white star. It is suggested that the meaning of the flag is this: The three colors indicate the three counties into which the Republic is divided; the eleven stripes represent the eleven signers of the Declaration and the Constitution; the lone star indicates the uniqueness of the African Republic.

Moreover, here is a wonder such as Solomon in all his wisdom conceived not of, when he said, "there is nothing new under the sun." Here on Africa's shores, the wilderness to which our fathers came but as yesterday, in ignorance, penury and want,—we have builded us towns and villages, and now are about to form a Republic—nay, nor was it thought of by the wise men of Europe and America.—H. J. R.

1847—1913.

The election was held in October, and Joseph Jenkin Roberts, the Governor of the Commonwealth, was elected to the new office of President of the Republic. One of his earliest acts was to visit Europe in order to ask the recognition of the new nation by European countries. The first to recognize the Republic was Great Britain; France was second. As it may be interesting to know just what powers have so far recognized Liberia as a nation, the list is presented in the order of their recognition, the date of recognition being placed within parenthesis:—Great Britain (1848); France (1852); Lubeck (1855); Bremen (1855); Hamburg (1855); Belgium (1858); Denmark (1860); United States (1862); Italy (1862); Sweden and Norway (1863); Holland (1863); Hayti (1864); Portugal (1865).

Of Roberts, Mr. Thomas, in his *West Coast of Africa*, says: "We called on President Roberts and family. Mrs. and Miss Roberts are most intelligent and interesting personages, speak English and French fluently, and are, in all respects, well bred and refined. I suppose that they have colored blood enough in them to swear by, but they might travel through every State in the Union without ever being suspected of having any connection with the sable progeny of Ham. Miss Roberts is a blue-eyed blonde, having light brown hair and rosy cheeks; yet

she is a genuine African in the know-nothing sense of genuineness, having been born in the woods of Liberia. The Ex-President is tall and well proportioned, colorless in complexion—hope the reader can tolerate a paradox—but plainly indicating his African extraction by a very kinky head of wool, of which, his friends say, he is very proud. We have spoken of his official character. In intelligence and moral integrity he is a superior man, and in the interview of that morning displayed much of that excellence in conversation and elegance of manner that have rendered him so popular in the courts of France and England. The best evidence of his practical good sense was displayed in a visit, which he made a few years ago, to his colored relatives and his white friends in his native state of Virginia. In every circle he knew his place, and conducted himself in such a manner as to win great favor among bond and free.”

It was while he was in London, in 1848, that Mr. Roberts, at a dinner given by the Prussian Ambassador, met Lord Ashley and Mr. Gurley, and received from them promises of assistance for purchasing the land in the neighborhood of the Gallinhas River. He was well treated everywhere; he was received by Queen Victoria upon her royal yacht in April; the British Admiralty presented the Republic with a war vessel, the *Lark*; he was returned to Monrovia on the British war-ship *Amazon*. Roberts was re-elected president for two subsequent terms, holding office until the end of 1855. During his administration there were a number of disorders among the natives which needed settlement; thus, in 1850, the Vai, Dey, and Golah were quarreling; this was during the absence of the President. In March, 1853, Roberts, with 200 men, went to the region of Cape Mount in order to quiet the disturbance. The Grando War, in Grand Bassa, called for vigorous action, and Chief Grando continued to give trouble at intervals from 1850 to 1853. On the whole, the

Roberts administrations were successful, and the country was greatly strengthened under his direction.

If Roberts was a mulatto, so light that he might easily have passed for a white man, his successor, Stephen Allen Benson, was black enough. This is amusingly brought out in an incident given by Thomas, which no doubt has some basis in fact, if it is not literally true. Thomas claims to quote a conversation between Capt. White of Virginia, while walking through Monrovia, and a former slave whom he had known as "Buck" (now "Col. Brown"). The Captain asked, "Which of the candidates for the presidency are you going to vote for?" "Oh, Benson, sir." "Has not Roberts made you a good president?" "Oh, yes." "He is a very smart man," continued the Captain, "and much respected abroad. I think you had better vote for him." "That's all true"—Colonel becomes quite animated—"but the fac's just this, Massa White; the folks say as how we darkies ain't fitten to take care o' oursel's—ain't capable. Roberts is a very fine gentleman, but he's more white than black. Benson's *colored people all over*. There's no use talking government, an' making laws, an' that kind o' things, if they ain't going to keep um up. I vote for Benson, sir, case I wants to know if we's going to stay nigger or turn monkey."

Stephen Allen Benson was born in Maryland, in 1816; he removed to Liberia in 1822; he was captured and held by the natives for some little time; he was inaugurated President in January, 1856. During his administration Napoleon III presented the Republic with the *Hirondelle* and equipment for 1000 armed men. During his administration there were various troubles with the coast natives, especially in the neighborhood of Cape Palmas; in the month of January, 1857, the difficulty was so serious that the very existence of the colony and the American missionaries at Cape Palmas were threatened. A force of Liberian soldiers under Ex-President Roberts was sent upon an English war steamer to their

relief; the arrival of so considerable a force awed the natives and led to a palaver; the natives promised submission and an indemnity for the destruction they had caused.

The independent colony of Maryland in Liberia had had a fairly successful existence. Their first governor, J. B. Russwurm, died in 1851. He was succeeded by McGill, and he by Prout. At the time of the Grebo War, J. B. Drayton was Governor. Largely as a result of this trouble it was decided that Maryland should join with the other colonies and become a part of the Republic; this annexation took place February 28, 1857, ten days after the ending of the Grebo War.

A curious incident took place in 1858. The French ship, *Regina Coeli*, arrived on the Kru Coast, and the Captain treated with Kru chiefs for men to be shipped as laborers; the men supposed that they were shipped for a trip along the west coast, as usual, to serve as seamen; learning, however, that their destination was the West Indies, they became alarmed and believed that they were to be sold into slavery; the Captain was still on shore, treating with the chiefs; the men mutinied, seized the ship, and killed all the white crew except the doctor; they then returned to shore and left the ship without a crew; had she not been noticed by a passing English steamer, she would no doubt have been wrecked; she was taken into a Liberian port. The French Government investigated the matter, but it was clearly shown that the Liberian Republic was in no way responsible for the incident.

In 1860 troubles with British traders in the region of the Mano River began; these are so fully discussed in another place that we need not present the facts here.

A great deal of trouble was encountered by the Republic in preventing smuggling by foreign ships; as it was impossible to adequately man all the ports along the coast with customs-officers, a law was

passed naming certain Ports of Entry at which only it was permitted for foreign boats to trade; this rendered the detection of illegal trade and smuggling easier.

In 1864 Daniel Bashiel Warner became President. He was a native of the United States, born April 18, 1815. It was during his administration that the Ports of Entry Law was passed; it was also during his term that an immigration of 300 West Indian negroes took place; among those who came at that time were the parents of Arthur Barclay, later prominent in Liberian politics; Arthur Barclay himself was a child at the time.

In 1868 James Spriggs Payne became President. He was a clergyman of some literary ability; he was author of a small treatise upon political economy; during his first administration he sent Benjamin Anderson on an official expedition to the interior. Anderson penetrated as far as Musahdu, an important town of the Mandingo; Payne served a second term, but not immediately following his first; after him were President Roye and President Roberts; it was in 1876 Payne was inaugurated a second time.

In 1870 Edward James Roye, a merchant and ship-owner, became President of the Republic; he was a full negro; he represented the "True Whig" party. His administration is notable for the turbulent character of its events. It was under him that the famous loan of 1871 was made. Before he became President, an effort had been made to amend the Constitution in such a way as to make the presidential term four years instead of two; the amendment was not carried; when, however, his term of office neared its end, he proclaimed an extension of his period for two years. Public dissatisfaction with the loan and a feeling of outrage at this high-handed action aroused the people so that they rose against him; in the strife several lives were lost; the President's house was sacked; search was made for him and one of his sons was caught and imprisoned; in the effort to

escape to a British steamer standing in the harbor, it is said that he was drowned. Roye's deposition took place October 26, 1871. A committee of three was appointed to govern the nation until a new election could be held; these gentlemen were Charles B. Dunbar, R. A. Sherman, and Amos Herring.

In this moment of public excitement and disorder the people looked to their old leader, and Joseph Jenkin Roberts was again elected to the presidency; this was his fifth term. His time was largely devoted to bringing about calm and order; Benjamin Anderson, in 1874, made a second expedition to Musahdu; in 1875 there was a war with the Gedebo (Grebo) of some consequence.

After President Payne's second administration Anthony W. Gardner became President; he was inaugurated in 1878. It was under his administration that the difficulties with England culminated, and Liberian territory was seized by British arms. In 1879 took place what is known as the "Carlos incident;" the German steamer, *Carlos*, was wrecked at Nana Kru; the natives looted the vessel and abused the shipwrecked Germans who had landed in their boats; the Germans were robbed of everything they had succeeded in bringing to shore with them and were even stripped of their clothing; they were compelled to walk along the beach to Greenville. The German warship, *Victoria*, was immediately despatched to the point of difficulty; she bombarded Nana Kru and the towns about; she then proceeded to Monrovia and demanded £900 damages on behalf of the shipwrecked Germans; the Government was unable to make prompt settlement and eventually paid the claim only under threat of a bombardment and with the help of European merchants in Monrovia. It was under President Gardner's direction that the Liberian Order of African Redemption was established; the decoration of the order consists of a star with rays pendent from a wreath of olive; upon the star is the seal of the Republic with the motto, THE

LOVE OF LIBERTY BROUGHT US HERE. Gardner was re-elected twice, but finally, in despair on account of the misfortune which his nation was suffering, resigned his office in January, 1883; at his resignation the Vice-President, A. F. Russell, took the chair.

In 1883 there were two other difficulties with wrecked steamers. The *Corisco*, a British mail steamer belonging to the Elder Dempster Company, was wrecked near the mouth of the Grand Cesters River; the passengers and crew took to the boats, but were plundered by the natives when they landed; the ship itself was also plundered; the Liberian force punished the Grand Cesters people for this deed, and the British Government treated the matter in a friendly manner. About the same time the *Senegal* was wrecked upon the Liberian coast and plundered by the natives. It must be remembered, in connection with such events as these, that it has always been recognized along that coast, that the natives on the beach are entitled to whatever wreckage occurs upon their shores; it is very difficult to disabuse the native mind of this long recognized principle and to teach them that they must leave wrecked vessels unpillaged. It will be remembered that a difficulty of this same kind took place when the first settlers were living on Perseverance Island. In September, 1912, while we were in the interior of the Bassa country, a German boat of the Woermann Line was wrecked in front of Grand Bassa; although this occurred within sight of one of the most important settlements in the Republic, the natives put out in their canoes and took from the sinking ship all its contents.

In 1884 Hilary Richard Wright Johnson became President of the Republic. He was the first "native son" to hold the office. He was the child of the oft-mentioned Elijah Johnson, one of the first settlers. Hilary was born at Monrovia, June 1, 1837; he graduated from the Alexander High School, on the St. Paul's River, in 1857; for seven years he was the private secretary of President Benson; in 1859

he became editor of the *Liberian Herald*, continuing to be so for two years; in 1861 he was elected to the House of Representatives; in 1862 he visited England and other countries with President Benson; he was Secretary of State under President Warner, and Professor of English and Philosophy in Liberia College; in 1870 he was Secretary of the Interior under President Roye, but resigned his office on account of difference of opinion with him; during the provisional government and during President Roberts' final administration he was Secretary of State; he became President in 1884 and served eight years; after he left the presidential chair, he was for some time Postmaster-General; he died at Monrovia in 1900. It was in President Johnson's administration that the boundary dispute so long pending with Great Britain was settled, the Mano River being recognized as the limit of Liberian territory; through a very considerable part of his time of service efforts were being made toward adjusting the unfortunate affairs connected with the loan of 1871; at the very close of Johnson's term of office trouble with the French began by their claim on October 26th of the Cavalla River boundary.

Joseph James Cheeseman was the next President, being inaugurated in 1892. He was born in 1843 at Edina, and was trained for the ministry by his father; he was ordained as pastor of the First Baptist Church in Edina in November, 1868. He was a man of energy; in 1893 he found the third Gedebo War upon his hands: he secured two gunboats—the *Rocktown* and the *Gorronama*—to patrol the coast for the prevention of smuggling; during his administration the use of paper currency was abolished and gold payment established. He was twice re-elected and died in office in the middle of his third term, November 15, 1896. The Vice-President, William David Coleman, took the presidency and, at the close of his filling of the unexpired term, was elected to the presidency.

William David Coleman was a resident of Clay-Ashland. His term was rather troubled; his interior policy was unpopular; he quarreled with his legislature; and finally resigned in December, 1900, under threat of impeachment. As there was no vice-president at the time, the Secretary of State, G. W. Gibson, succeeded to his office. It was during President Coleman's administration that Germany offered, in 1897, to take over Liberia as a protected territory; the offer was refused, but certainly is interesting. Germany has watched with some concern the constant encroachments of Great Britain and France upon Liberian territory and sovereign rights; having no territorial boundary herself, she is unable to pursue their methods; she is watching, however, and unless, as some suspect, there is an actual understanding between Great Britain and France, as to the eventual complete division of the Republic between them, it is certain that, when the German Government thinks Liberia's neighbors are going too far in their land piracy, she herself will take a hand and grasp the whole Republic. Such at least is a possibility not infrequently suggested.

Garretson Warner Gibson was born in Baltimore, Maryland, May 20, 1832; he was but three years old when he went with his parents to Cape Palmas; he was educated under Bishop Payne and became a teacher in the mission school at Cavalla; in 1851 he went to the United States for the purpose of studying, returning to Cape Palmas two years later. In 1854 he was made deacon by Bishop Payne, the first ordained in the African field; he later became priest and preached and taught through a period of years until 1858, when he came to Monrovia to open up a church. He occupied a variety of political offices, but under Gardner, Cheeseman, and Coleman was Secretary of State; on the resignation of Coleman he filled out his term, and was himself elected President for the period from 1902 to 1904. He was three times president of Liberia College and was always inter-

ested in educational affairs; in 1908 he was a member of the commission which visited the United States; he died at Monrovia April 26, 1910.

In 1904 Arthur Barclay became president. We have already stated that he was a native of the West Indies, having been born at Barbados in 1854; he was of pure African parentage; his parents took him with them to Liberia in 1865; graduating from Liberia College in 1873, he became private secretary to President Roberts; after filling various minor offices, he became, in 1892, Postmaster-General, in 1894, Secretary of State, and in 1896, Secretary of the Treasury. He served two terms of two years each; during the second of these terms the Constitution was amended and the term of office of the President extended to four years; in 1908 President Barclay entered upon his third term of office, this time for the longer period. Arthur Barclay is a man of extraordinary ability; he has for years been the acknowledged leader of the Liberian bar; many of the most important incidents of Liberian history occurred within his period of administration; most of them, however, are connected with the vital problems of the Republic and their discussion will be found elsewhere.

The present executive of the Liberian Republic is Daniel Edward Howard. He assumed office January 1st and 2nd, 1912; at his inauguration one day was given to the native chiefs, a new feature in inauguration, and one to be encouraged. In his inaugural address President Howard laid particular stress upon agriculture, education, and the native policy. He is the third "native son" to hold the presidential office. His father was Thomas Howard, who for years was chairman of the Republic. Of him Ellis says: "Comparatively a young man, Secretary Howard is a natural leader of men. Frank, honest, and decisive, he may be truly described as the Mark Hanna of Liberian politics. He received his education at Liberia College and in the study and management of

men. Proud of his race and country, he is to my mind today the strongest single factor in the Liberian Republic. He has large influence with the aborigines because of his ability to speak fluently a number of native tongues, and he is usually relied upon to settle the native palavers and difficulties. He is chairman of the National True Whig Committee, and for years has been keeping in touch with, and commanding the great forces of his party. It is said of him that to his friends he is as true as steel, and that he does not know what it is to break a promise."

President Howard has an able Cabinet, liberal views, and the courage of his convictions.

Of men not actually in the present government, but of commanding influence and significance, two must be mentioned. No clear understanding of the present trend of Liberian affairs is possible without some knowledge of their personality. Here again we quote from Ellis: "Secretary Johnson is the grandson of Elijah Johnson, the historic Liberian patriot, who by his wisdom and courage saved the infant colony of Liberia from early extirpation; and the son of the late Ex-President Hilary Johnson, one of Liberia's notable public men. Secretary Johnson is proud and dignified in his bearing, scholarly in his attainments, and fluent in his speech. For years he has acknowledged no superior, and has been recognized as a close competitor of President Barclay at the bar. He has enjoyed extensive foreign travel and has had a varied public experience. He has served on two important foreign missions, and at different times has been Postmaster-General, Attorney-General, and is now Secretary of State." It will be seen of course from the contents of these quotations from Ellis that his article was written just before Barclay's administration ended. There is no man in Liberia who has a more complete grasp upon Liberian problems than F. E. R. Johnson. At the time of the visit of the American Commission to Monrovia, he presented for

their study and examination a defense of the Liberian position, which was masterly.

Of Vice-President Dossen—now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court—Ellis says: “He is a man of magnificent physique and splendid intellectual powers, aggressive and proud in spirit, ready and forceful in language, he has enjoyed a useful public record. For ten years he was Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and compiled the publication of the Supreme Court Decisions. He served as envoy extraordinary to France and to the United States, and now presides with becoming dignity over the deliberations of the Liberian Senate.” It was a matter of serious disappointment to us, that we were unable to meet John J. Dossen when in Liberia; he is certainly one of the best men in Liberian public life today; much is still to be expected from him.

PROBLEMS

I have heard men express preferences. They have made mention of whom they desire to rule over them if the worst should come upon us nationally. Some are rampant after American associations; some are enamoured of the English; some would have the Germans, others the French. Personally I indulge no such predilections. They argue an abandonment of hope; they display a lack of vitality; they are an absolute admission of incapacity and of failure. For my part I am a *Liberian* first and last and my desire is that Liberia should endure till the heavens fall, that this country be controlled by Liberians for Liberians. But I also desire that these Liberians be tolerant; that they be prescient; that they be energetic, industrious, and public-spirited; that they be courageous in shouldering their national responsibilities; that they be liberal and that they become a great and glorious people, unanimous in sentiment, united in action, abounding in all the virtues which make a nation powerful, perpetual and enduring.—
E. BARCLAY.

BOUNDARY QUESTIONS.

The most pressing and ever urgent question which the Republic has to face is the protection of its frontier against aggression; Liberia has two powerful neighbors, both of which are land-hungry and are continually pressing upon her borders; she has already lost large slices of her territory and is still menaced with further loss.

FIRST BRITISH AGGRESSION.

Shortly after his election to the presidency of the Republic, President J. J. Roberts visited Europe. He was well received both in England and France. On one occasion, in 1848, when he was dining in London with the Prussian Ambassador, the conversation dealt with the difficulties which the Liberian settlers had

with the native chiefs along the Gallinhas River; these hostilities were kept alive by slave traders who had their trading stations near the river's mouth; these difficulties had generally been incited and directed by a chief named Mano. Among the guests who were present at the dinner were Lord Ashley and Mr. Gurney; it was suggested that an end might be put to these difficulties and the anti-slavery cause advanced, if Liberia would purchase this territory; considerable interest was aroused by the suggestion, and through Lord Ashley's effort the necessary money was raised for consummating the purchase. On his return to Liberia, President Roberts entered into negotiations which extended from 1849 to 1856, by which the land was gradually acquired; the area secured stretched from the Mano River to the Sewa and Sherbro Island on the west. Through the annexation of this territory, Liberia's domain extended from Cape Lahon to the eastward of Cape Palmas, west to the border of Sierra Leone, a distance of 600 miles. This acquisition of territory was attended with considerable difficulty; the influence of traders, of slavers, and even of England herself was thrown in the way of the negotiations—so Commodore Foote tells us. Nor did the acquisition of the territory put an end to the difficulties in that region. In the year 1860 John Myers Harris, an English trader, had established himself in the country between the Mano and Sulima Rivers and refused to acknowledge Liberia's authority; as he was conducting a flagrant trade in contravention of Liberian laws of commerce, President Benson sent a coast guard to seize two schooners, the *Phoebe* and *Emily*, which had been consigned to him; the seizure was made between Cape Mount and Mano Point, clearly Liberian territory. It is curious that this seizure was made by a Liberian government vessel, the *Quail*, which had been a gift to the Republic from Great Britain. We have, then, a vessel, contributed through British sympathy, operating within an area secured through

British philanthropy, against law-breaking indulged in by British subjects. The captured schooners were taken to Liberia and were held for legal adjudication; under the orders of the Sierra Leone Government, the British gunboat, *Torch*, appeared at Monrovia, and seized the two schooners by force on December 17; at the same time the commander of this gunboat demanded from the Liberian Government a penalty of fifteen pounds per day for nineteen days' detention. Shortly after these events, President Benson, on his way to England for public business, visited the government of Sierra Leone and tried to adjust the difficulties which had arisen; he was, however, referred to London. At about this time part of the disputed territory was annexed by Sierra Leone to her own area. While in London, Benson took up the matter with the British Government. Lord Russell acknowledged the territorial rights of Liberia to extend from the coast east of Turner Point (Matru) to the San Pedro River on the east, thus admitting the point for which Liberia contended. This decision was by no means satisfactory to the troublers in Africa. Harris agitated the matter in dispute. Backed by Governor Hall of Sierra Leone, he and neighboring traders protested against the concession Russell had made. A commission was therefore appointed and met at Monrovia April 25, 1863, continuing in session until May 4, when it adjourned without decision. The British Commissioners examined the title deeds held by Liberia and were inclined to recognize some of these and to refuse others; they objected to Liberia's possessing any territory beyond the Mano River, and proposed that river as the boundary. The Liberian Commissioners demurred, urging the validity of the deeds they showed and proposing that the Sherbro should be their northwest boundary; they asserted a good title to the territories known as Cassee, Gumbo, and Muttru. The British Commissioners based their claims upon letters from the chiefs of the territories involved and on

statements which they asserted had been made by them. The Commission broke up without a settlement, as the Liberians held strictly to the concession which Lord Russell had previously made. London, however, yielding to the colonial pressure, regretted that no solution had been reached, and claimed that it was "justified in view of the facts" in only recognizing Liberia's sovereignty over Sugaree. The closing episode in this exchange of views was the sending of a letter by Dr. Blyden, who was then Secretary of State for the Republic, which ran as follows: "The President is equally grieved that the oral statements of barbarous and heathen chiefs on a subject affecting the prosperity of a rising Christian state should be regarded by Her Majesty's Government as entitled to more weight than the statements of Christian men supported by written documents and by the known local conduct of the chiefs towards the Liberian Government since the cession of their territories until very recently."

As might be expected, the troubles did not cease. Traders continued to smuggle; local chiefs continued to harass; shipping continued to bid defiance to Liberian laws; vessels continued to be seized; threats continued to be made. Harris began to act almost as if he were an independent chief within this territory; there were various tribes about him, and some of them were inclined to resist his exactions; disputes with him aroused the Vai to undertake reprisals; Harris organized the Gallinhas peoples in an attack upon the Vai; the Liberian Government sent forces in 1869 to aid the Vai, who were loyal to them. The Gallinhas natives were defeated, fled, and in their rage turning on Harris, destroyed one of his factories; this of course gave him a basis for new claims for damages. On this military expedition some property had been destroyed or confiscated. Thus new difficulties grew up; there were occasional seizures, retaliatory threats, demands for damages, shows of force. Naturally, the hostile chiefs living

in the Mano District, encouraged by the unsettled conditions, raided and destroyed Liberian settlements; things presently were critical, and in 1871 another expedition was despatched by the Liberian Government into Mano and Sulima; property was destroyed, including powder and goods belonging to British owners; the usual demands for damages were made, and these demands known as the "Mano River Claims" were pending until 1882.

Between the constant pushing of the "Harris Claims" and the "Mano River Claims," things finally came to a head in December, 1878. A new commission was then appointed which met in 1879, first at Sierra Leone, then at Sulima; Commodore Shufeldt, of the American navy, was chosen as an arbitrator between the two contestants. The "Harris Claims" by this time amounted to some 6000 pounds. The conduct of Great Britain on this occasion was supercilious. The Liberian Commissioners, after reaching Sierra Leone, were kept waiting for three weeks before the British Commissioners made their appearance; the commissioners examined the title deeds of the Liberian Government and took oral testimony of witnesses favorable to and hostile to the Liberian claims. The Liberians claimed the territories known as Sugaree, Mano, Rock River, and Sulima; the British Commissioners took the ground that no such countries were in existence. The meeting was rather stormy; Shufeldt reduced the "Harris Claims" to £3000, but the British Commissioners were not inclined either in this matter or in others to abide by the decision of the umpire; finally the Commission broke up without accomplishing any good results. The British claimed that Sierra Leone should undertake the protectorate of the whole country as far as the Mano River, as they said Liberia was unable to maintain order west of that point. "Undoubtedly they were unable to fight British traders, since every time they used force, marine or military, the said traders were able to command the

armed interference of the Sierra Leone Government." The matter was again referred to London; nothing final was there done.

Matters reached a crisis when, on March 20, 1882, Sir Arthur Havelock, governor of Sierra Leone, with four gunboats appeared before Monrovia and demanded that the Republic should pay an indemnity of £8,500 to settle all outstanding claims, and that it should accept the Maffa River as a boundary. The Liberian Government yielded to these insistent claims. They promised to pay the indemnity, admitted the Maffa River as a temporary boundary, and agreed to receive from Great Britain a money payment in return for what she had expended for the purchase of the disputed territory. Before the Liberian Government yielded, she set up a statement of her own position which was just and dignified. As soon as the action of the government was known at Monrovia, Havelock having returned to Sierra Leone, violent hostility arose; the Senate rejected the treaty; the Liberians asked that the whole matter be submitted to arbitration. On September 7, Sir Arthur Havelock again appeared with gunboats, demanding immediate ratification of the treaty. Liberia again raised her defense: "If the contested territory was British, why did the British Government claim from Liberia an indemnity for acts of violence amongst the natives which had taken place thereon? If, however, Liberia acknowledged her responsibility, as she had done, and agreed to pay an indemnity, why should she be in addition deprived of territories for the law and order of which she was held responsible, and which were hers by acts of purchase admitted by the British Government?" The Senate again refused to ratify the treaty. Sir Arthur Havelock sailed away; but in March, 1883, the Sierra Leone Government seized the territories in question between Sherbro and the Mano River, territories which from first to last had cost Liberia £20,000. The whole matter was finally settled by a

treaty signed at London, Nov. 11, 1885, whereby the river Mano was admitted to be the western boundary; a badly defined interior line was agreed upon; a repayment of £4750 of purchase money was made to Liberia.

THE KANRE-LAHUN AFFAIR.

The next act of serious aggression on the part of Great Britain grew out of the bad definition of the interior boundary by the treaty of 1885. The Mano River had been recognized as the boundary between Sierra Leone and Liberia. The question now arose as to whether the two parties enjoyed equal rights of freedom on the river. The Liberian Government attempted to secure to Liberian traders and to foreigners resident in Liberia the rights to free navigation on the river without subjection to the payment of customs dues and other charges to the Sierra Leone Government. The matter became of sufficient consequence to call for a commission in the year 1901. Three Liberians, among them Arthur Barclay, then Secretary of the Treasury (later President of the Republic), were appointed; the meeting was held in London and led to the following memorandum of agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Liberian Republic.

1. His Majesty's Government are prepared to accede to the requests of the Liberian Government that a British officer should be deputed to demarcate the Anglo-Liberian Boundary.

2. They are also ready to lend the services of a British officer for employment by the Liberian Government in the demarcation of the Franco-Liberian Boundary whenever the Liberian Government shall have made an arrangement with the French Government for such demarcation.

3. The Liberian Government undertakes to repay to His Majesty's Government the whole of any cost incurred by them in connection with the survey and demarcation of the Anglo-Liberian Frontier.

4. His Majesty's Government are willing that, in lieu of the Governor of Sierra Leone acting as British Consul to Liberia, arrangements shall be made whereby some other British officer shall be Consul in the Republic.

5. His Majesty's Government undertakes the survey of the Kru Coast, provided the Liberian Government will throw open to foreign trade the native ports on the coast.

6. With regard to the navigation on the Mano River, His Majesty's Government are prepared to permit the Government of the Liberian Republic and its citizens to trade on that river, provided that it is not to be considered actual right, and if, in return, the Government of Sierra Leone is allowed to connect by bridges and ferries the two banks of the river with any roads or trade-routes in the neighborhood.

7. The Government of the Liberian Republic have expressed a desire for closer union with Great Britain: His Majesty's Government are actuated by the most friendly feelings toward the Republic; and with the view of meeting their wishes in this respect, so far as it is consistent with the declaration made by His Majesty's government in connection with other powers, will at all times be ready to advise them in matters affecting the welfare of Liberia, and to confer with the Government of the Republic as to the best means of securing its independence and the integrity of its territory.

When this agreement was submitted to the Senate of Liberia for ratification, they made the following amendments:

Section 1. Amended to read, that the Liberian Government shall depute an officer or officers to be associated with the British officer in demarcating the Anglo-Liberian Boundary.

Section 2. Amended to read, that the Liberian Government shall depute an officer or officers to be associated with the British and French officers in demarcating the Franco-Liberian Frontier.

Section 5. The Senate, not perceiving the advisability of throwing the coast open for the present, is under the necessity of withholding its vote in favor of this section.

Section 7. Amended to read, "One bridge at the place where the Liberian Customs House is now erected, and one ferry at the place where the second Liberian Customs House may hereafter be erected; that said bridge and ferry will be accessible to the citizens of the Liberian Government without any restrictions or extra toll, or charges, more than is required to be paid by the subjects of His Majesty's Government.

The British Government left the settlement of the details of that portion of the agreement which had reference to the navigation of the Mano River to be settled between the Liberian Government and the Government of Sierra Leone. The colonial government imposed such restrictions that no understanding was ever arrived at. However, a joint commission for the demarcation of the Anglo-Liberian frontier was appointed and in 1903 proceeded with its work. In due time the boundary was satisfactorily settled by this commission. This boundary, however, very soon gave rise to a serious difficulty and to a flagrant aggression. By the delimitation, the town and district of Kanre-Lahun fell to Liberia; Colonel Williams, the Liberian Commissioner, hoisted the Liberian flag at that town which, at the time, was occupied by a detachment of the Sierra Leone Frontier Force; curiously enough, the British force was not withdrawn.

In 1904 the British Government complained to the Liberian Government that the Kissi were making raids into British territory in consequence of a war between Fabundah, a chief of the Kanre-Lahun District, and Kah Furah, a Kissi chief, and asked permission for the entrance of British troops into Liberian territory for the purpose of repressing the disorder which, it was said, threatened British inter-

ests. The request was granted; British troops advanced to the Mafisso where they established a post. In November the British Vice-Consul sent word to the President of Liberia saying that the chief Kah Furah had been driven out of the Kissi country, and that the people, at the invitation of the military authorities, had elected a new chief, and had pledged themselves not to receive Kah Furah among them again. The Liberian Government assumed that the matter was at an end and that the British force had been withdrawn. In 1906 Mr. Lomax, the Liberian Commissioner for the French frontier, was instructed to proceed to this point; he reached Kanre-Lahun in December, and found Waladi, a town in Liberian territory, garrisoned by a Sierra Leone force. While Mr. Lomax was at Kanre-Lahun, complaints were made against him by the Chief Fabundah and others. These complaints were examined in the presence of Governor Probyn, Sir Harry Johnston, Mr. Lamont, and leading military officers, and Mr. Lomax justified himself completely, except in a single case where damages of five pounds were suggested and paid. Later on, British officers sent in complaints that the escort with Mr. Lomax were plundering the country. It was impossible in such districts and under such circumstances to prevent some petty thieving. Mr. Lomax, however, accepted the complaints and paid the damages claimed. With a view to permanently settling the country under Liberian rule, Mr. Lomax ordered a local election to be held. Three chiefs were chosen—Fabundah for the lower section, Gardi for the Bombali section, and Bawma for the Gormah section. Fabundah, who before had been exercising jurisdiction over the Bombali, was dissatisfied. The Sierra Leone authorities promised to support him against the Liberian Government; they placed a frontier force at his disposal for the purpose of ruining the chiefs who were favorable to Liberian control or who had received commissions from the President; efforts to arouse opposition and dissatisfaction

were made; Lomax was hounded from the district; the chief, Gardi, was driven from the country, his town was plundered, and his brother made a prisoner in Kanre-Lahun.

In 1908 attempts had been made in Europe to settle difficulties pending with Great Britain and France. Mr. F. E. R. Johnson, the Liberian Secretary of State, who had been sent to arrange these matters, found conditions threatening. In London the British Government stated that it had no designs against Liberia, but that they believed the French were planning encroachment, and that, if Liberia lost territory to France, Great Britain would find it necessary to take a new piece of territory contingent to Sierra Leone in her own defense. Matters appeared so serious that President Barclay was advised to come to Europe himself; he arrived in London on the 29th of August, accompanied by T. McCants Stewart, and there met Mr. Johnson. He told the British Government of his fears regarding further aggression upon Liberian territory and expressed the desire that Great Britain and America should jointly guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic. The reply was that Great Britain would on no account enter into any such guarantee; if the Liberian Government obtained a settled frontier with France, and inaugurated certain reforms, there would be little danger of any one's troubling it; if the reforms desired by England were not undertaken, nothing would save it from the end which threatened. At the same time London refused to treat of the Kanre-Lahun and Mano River difficulties until after the troubles with France had been arranged. In France, as will be shortly seen, the Liberian envoys met with no success; a treaty was indeed arranged by means of which the Republic was robbed of a large amount of valuable territory. The envoys were again in London in September to take up the matters of the Kanre-Lahun and Mano River negotiations. The British officials now demanded that Fabundah should

come entirely under the jurisdiction of the British Government, and that the frontier line on the north-west should be so altered as to place his territory within the British colony; the area thus demanded contained something like 250 square miles of territory. At no time had the area actually in charge of Fabundah amounted to any such quantity; the Liberians demurred at the largeness of the territorial claim—the British officials themselves stated that they were surprised at its extent, but insisted upon receiving the entire amount. No decision was actually reached, the matter being postponed until the delimitation of the new Franco-Liberian boundary should be achieved.

Great Britain's claim to this region was based upon the flimsiest pretext. It is true that she had had relations with Fabundah before the boundary had been delimited; it is true that, previous to that date, she had had a force in Kanre-Lahun; however, when the boundary was actually fixed, Kanre-Lahun was clearly within Liberian territory, and no objection whatever was made to the Republic's taking possession and to the withdrawal of the Sierra Leone force. When, later on, Great Britain sent soldiers into the area, it was done on the pretext that intertribal difficulties in the region threatened British interests; permission was given as a favor to Great Britain and with the expectation that, as soon as the difficulty had been adjusted, the British force would be withdrawn. Such was not the case; once in Kanre-Lahun, it remained there; Major Lomax was hounded from the country; the Liberian customs officer, Mr. Hughes, was ordered to abandon his post of duty and to surrender the customs house to the British commander. This act of occupation was bad enough; but soon Great Britain demanded that the army of occupation should be paid by the Liberian Government before it would evacuate the district; no such understanding had been arranged, and the claim was unjustified and ridiculous; the frontier force of Sierra

Leone was not increased, nor put to any extra expense in the matter. In asking for a new boundary line which should cut out Fabundah's territory, flagrant injustice was committed; it is true that the boundary which had been arranged cut the land controlled by the chief; about one-twenty-fifth of his territory was on the British side, the remaining twenty-four-twenty-fifths being in Liberia; if a new line were to be drawn, it should have given the one-twenty-fifth to Liberia and reduced the Sierra Leone territory. The matter dragged along for months. December 8, 1909, President Barclay accepted a proposition to exchange or sell the district in dispute; the legislature refused to accept the proposition. In May, 1911, however, an agreement was finally arranged; the British authorities took over the Kanre-Lahun District, an area of extraordinary wealth and dense population; in return for this valuable and most needed area, Liberia received a piece of country lying between the Morro and Mano Rivers, which had formerly been a part of the Colony of Sierra Leone; this territory is almost without population, densely forested, and practically worthless. Even so, it is little likely that the Republic will be left in peaceful possession of it. On some pretext, in the future, Great Britain will no doubt regain it.

THE FRENCH BOUNDARY QUESTION.

When Maryland was added to the Liberian Republic, it possessed lands acquired by deeds of purchase and treaties as far east as the San Pedro River, sixty miles east of the Cavalla; this country was occupied by Kru tribes, and its eastern boundary practically marked their limit; it was hence not only a geographical, but an ethnographical boundary. For years no one questioned Liberia's right to the whole area, and on maps and in repeated descriptions of the country its rights were recognized. In 1885, however, the French Government claimed that the French possessions extended continuously from the Ivory

Coast westward beyond the Cavalla River and Cape Palmas as far as Garawé; at the same time it suggested certain shadowy claims to Cape Mount, Grand Bassa, and Grand Butu;—in other words, points at intervals along the whole coast of the Liberian Republic; these claims were based on agreements stated to have been drawn up between native chiefs and the commanders of war vessels. In 1891 the French Government officially communicated to Great Britain her intention of taking possession of and administering the district mentioned as far as Garawé; she modified her claim, however, in such a way as to extend her rights only to the Cavalla River. In 1891 a French commissioner was authorized to treat with Liberia in this matter. He claimed that the French had deeds to Grand Cesters, dating to 1788, and to Garawé, dating to 1842; he referred to other shadowy rights and mentioned treaties which, he asserted, chiefs in the neighborhood of the Cavalla and San Pedro Rivers had made with French authorities; asked to produce these documents, he admitted that he did not have them with him. The French Government asked that Liberia should recognize the right of France from the Cavalla River to the San Pedro, saying that, if this recognition were granted, they might not revive their old claims. Liberia urged that the treaty formed with her by the French Government in 1852 clearly recognized her rights to the region in question; a French war map, dated 1882, was shown, on which Liberia's area was clearly shown to extend to the San Pedro River; at the same time Liberia asked that the whole matter should be referred to arbitration. Arbitration was refused; a treaty drawn up by France was offered for approval in August, 1892; the Liberian legislature refused absolutely to ratify it, and the Liberian Government appealed to the United States for assistance and advice. The country was greatly aroused over the manifest injustice of its powerful neighbor. Especially in Mary-

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land, feeling ran high. A printed appeal was issued to the world. In it occurs the following passage:

"We appeal to all the civilized nations of the world.—Consider, we pray you, the situation. Having been carried away into slavery, and, by the blessing of God, returned from exile to our fatherland, are we now to be robbed of our rightful inheritance? Is there not to be a foot of land in Africa, that the African, whether civilized or savage, can call his own? It has been asserted that the race is not capable of self-government, and the eyes of many are watching the progress of Liberia with a view to determining that question. We only ask, in all fairness, to be allowed just what any other people would require—free scope for operation. Do not wrest our territory from us and hamper us in our operations, and then stigmatize the race with incapacity, because we do not work miracles. Give us a fair chance, and then if we utterly fail, we shall yield the point. We pray you, the civilized and Christian nations of the world, to use your influence in our behalf. We have no power to prevent this aggression on the part of the French Government: but we know that we have right on our side, and are willing to have our claims to the territory in question examined. We do not consent to France's taking that portion of our territory lying between the Cavalla and San Pedro Rivers; nor do we recognize its claims to points on our Grain Coast which, as shown above, our government has been in possession of for so long. We protest, too, against that government's marking off narrow limits of interior land for us. We claim the right to extend as far interiorward as our necessities require. We are not foreigners: we are Africans, and this is Africa. Such being the case, we have certain natural rights—God-given rights—to this territory which no foreigners can have. We should have room enough, not only for our present population, but also to afford a home for our brethren in exile who may wish to return to their fatherland and help us to build up a

negro nationality. We implore you, the civilized and Christian nations of the world, to use your influence to have these, our reasonable requirements secured to us." But neither the official appeal to the United States nor the unofficial appeal to the Christian nations of the world availed. France seized the territory and threatened to refuse to recognize rights beyond Grand Cesters on the seaboard, and Boporo in the interior. After fruitless remonstrance, the Republic was forced to yield and a treaty was accepted on December 8, 1892. By it the Cavalla River was recognized as the boundary between France and Liberia, from its mouth "as far as a point situated at a point" about twenty miles south of its confluence with the River "Fodedougouba" at the intersection of the parallel $6^{\circ} 30'$ north and the Paris meridian $9^{\circ} 12'$ west; thence along $6^{\circ} 30'$ as far as 10° west, with the proviso that the basin of the Grand Cesters River should belong to Liberia and the basin of the Fodedougouba to France; then north along 10° to 8° north; and then northwest to the latitude of Tembi Kunda (supposed $8^{\circ} 35'$), after which due west along the latitude of Tembi Kunda, until it intersects the British boundary near that place. But the entire Niger Basin should be French; Bamaquilla and Mahommadou should be Liberian; Mousardou and Naalah, French.

LATER FRENCH DIFFICULTIES.

Notwithstanding this delimitation, difficulties with the French continued. In 1895 French posts along the northern border began to crowd in upon the Republic. The town of Lola, in Liberia, was attacked by Senegalese soldiers; these were repulsed and two French officers were killed. Aggressions continued until, finally, in 1903, Liberia begged that a final delimitation might be arranged, as the old had proved completely unsatisfactory. In 1904 F. E. R. Johnson and J. J. Dossen were sent to France to arrange matters. On their way, they called at the British

treaty signed at London, Nov. 11, 1885, whereby the river Mano was admitted to be the western boundary; a badly defined interior line was agreed upon; a repayment of £4750 of purchase money was made to Liberia.

THE KANRE-LAHUN AFFAIR.

The next act of serious aggression on the part of Great Britain grew out of the bad definition of the interior boundary by the treaty of 1885. The Mano River had been recognized as the boundary between Sierra Leone and Liberia. The question now arose as to whether the two parties enjoyed equal rights of freedom on the river. The Liberian Government attempted to secure to Liberian traders and to foreigners resident in Liberia the rights to free navigation on the river without subjection to the payment of customs dues and other charges to the Sierra Leone Government. The matter became of sufficient consequence to call for a commission in the year 1901. Three Liberians, among them Arthur Barclay, then Secretary of the Treasury (later President of the Republic), were appointed; the meeting was held in London and led to the following memorandum of agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Liberian Republic.

1. His Majesty's Government are prepared to accede to the requests of the Liberian Government that a British officer should be deputed to demarcate the Anglo-Liberian Boundary.

2. They are also ready to lend the services of a British officer for employment by the Liberian Government in the demarcation of the Franco-Liberian Boundary whenever the Liberian Government shall have made an arrangement with the French Government for such demarcation.

3. The Liberian Government undertakes to repay to His Majesty's Government the whole of any cost incurred by them in connection with the survey and demarcation of the Anglo-Liberian Frontier.

4. His Majesty's Government are willing that, in lieu of the Governor of Sierra Leone acting as British Consul to Liberia, arrangements shall be made whereby some other British officer shall be Consul in the Republic.

5. His Majesty's Government undertakes the survey of the Kru Coast, provided the Liberian Government will throw open to foreign trade the native ports on the coast.

6. With regard to the navigation on the Mano River, His Majesty's Government are prepared to permit the Government of the Liberian Republic and its citizens to trade on that river, provided that it is not to be considered actual right, and if, in return, the Government of Sierra Leone is allowed to connect by bridges and ferries the two banks of the river with any roads or trade-routes in the neighborhood.

7. The Government of the Liberian Republic have expressed a desire for closer union with Great Britain: His Majesty's Government are actuated by the most friendly feelings toward the Republic; and with the view of meeting their wishes in this respect, so far as it is consistent with the declaration made by His Majesty's government in connection with other powers, will at all times be ready to advise them in matters affecting the welfare of Liberia, and to confer with the Government of the Republic as to the best means of securing its independence and the integrity of its territory.

When this agreement was submitted to the Senate of Liberia for ratification, they made the following amendments:

Section 1. Amended to read, that the Liberian Government shall depute an officer or officers to be associated with the British officer in demarcating the Anglo-Liberian Boundary.

Section 2. Amended to read, that the Liberian Government shall depute an officer or officers to be associated with the British and French officers in demarcating the Franco-Liberian Frontier.

Section 5. The Senate, not perceiving the advisability of throwing the coast open for the present, is under the necessity of withholding its vote in favor of this section.

Section 7. Amended to read, "One bridge at the place where the Liberian Customs House is now erected, and one ferry at the place where the second Liberian Customs House may hereafter be erected; that said bridge and ferry will be accessible to the citizens of the Liberian Government without any restrictions or extra toll, or charges, more than is required to be paid by the subjects of His Majesty's Government.

The British Government left the settlement of the details of that portion of the agreement which had reference to the navigation of the Mano River to be settled between the Liberian Government and the Government of Sierra Leone. The colonial government imposed such restrictions that no understanding was ever arrived at. However, a joint commission for the demarcation of the Anglo-Liberian frontier was appointed and in 1903 proceeded with its work. In due time the boundary was satisfactorily settled by this commission. This boundary, however, very soon gave rise to a serious difficulty and to a flagrant aggression. By the delimitation, the town and district of Kanre-Lahun fell to Liberia; Colonel Williams, the Liberian Commissioner, hoisted the Liberian flag at that town which, at the time, was occupied by a detachment of the Sierra Leone Frontier Force; curiously enough, the British force was not withdrawn.

In 1904 the British Government complained to the Liberian Government that the Kissi were making raids into British territory in consequence of a war between Fabundah, a chief of the Kanre-Lahun District, and Kah Furah, a Kissi chief, and asked permission for the entrance of British troops into Liberian territory for the purpose of repressing the disorder which, it was said, threatened British inter-

ests. The request was granted; British troops advanced to the Mafisso where they established a post. In November the British Vice-Consul sent word to the President of Liberia saying that the chief Kah Furah had been driven out of the Kissi country, and that the people, at the invitation of the military authorities, had elected a new chief, and had pledged themselves not to receive Kah Furah among them again. The Liberian Government assumed that the matter was at an end and that the British force had been withdrawn. In 1906 Mr. Lomax, the Liberian Commissioner for the French frontier, was instructed to proceed to this point; he reached Kanre-Lahun in December, and found Waladi, a town in Liberian territory, garrisoned by a Sierra Leone force. While Mr. Lomax was at Kanre-Lahun, complaints were made against him by the Chief Fabundah and others. These complaints were examined in the presence of Governor Probyn, Sir Harry Johnston, Mr. Lamont, and leading military officers, and Mr. Lomax justified himself completely, except in a single case where damages of five pounds were suggested and paid. Later on, British officers sent in complaints that the escort with Mr. Lomax were plundering the country. It was impossible in such districts and under such circumstances to prevent some petty thieving. Mr. Lomax, however, accepted the complaints and paid the damages claimed. With a view to permanently settling the country under Liberian rule, Mr. Lomax ordered a local election to be held. Three chiefs were chosen—Fabundah for the lower section, Gardi for the Bombali section, and Bawma for the Gormah section. Fabundah, who before had been exercising jurisdiction over the Bombali, was dissatisfied. The Sierra Leone authorities promised to support him against the Liberian Government; they placed a frontier force at his disposal for the purpose of ruining the chiefs who were favorable to Liberian control or who had received commissions from the President; efforts to arouse opposition and dissatisfaction

were made; Lomax was hounded from the district; the chief, Gardi, was driven from the country, his town was plundered, and his brother made a prisoner in Kanre-Lahun.

In 1908 attempts had been made in Europe to settle difficulties pending with Great Britain and France. Mr. F. E. R. Johnson, the Liberian Secretary of State, who had been sent to arrange these matters, found conditions threatening. In London the British Government stated that it had no designs against Liberia, but that they believed the French were planning encroachment, and that, if Liberia lost territory to France, Great Britain would find it necessary to take a new piece of territory contingent to Sierra Leone in her own defense. Matters appeared so serious that President Barclay was advised to come to Europe himself; he arrived in London on the 29th of August, accompanied by T. McCants Stewart, and there met Mr. Johnson. He told the British Government of his fears regarding further aggression upon Liberian territory and expressed the desire that Great Britain and America should jointly guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic. The reply was that Great Britain would on no account enter into any such guarantee; if the Liberian Government obtained a settled frontier with France, and inaugurated certain reforms, there would be little danger of any one's troubling it; if the reforms desired by England were not undertaken, nothing would save it from the end which threatened. At the same time London refused to treat of the Kanre-Lahun and Mano River difficulties until after the troubles with France had been arranged. In France, as will be shortly seen, the Liberian envoys met with no success; a treaty was indeed arranged by means of which the Republic was robbed of a large amount of valuable territory. The envoys were again in London in September to take up the matters of the Kanre-Lahun and Mano River negotiations. The British officials now demanded that Fabundah should

come entirely under the jurisdiction of the British Government, and that the frontier line on the north-west should be so altered as to place his territory within the British colony; the area thus demanded contained something like 250 square miles of territory. At no time had the area actually in charge of Fabundah amounted to any such quantity; the Liberians demurred at the largeness of the territorial claim—the British officials themselves stated that they were surprised at its extent, but insisted upon receiving the entire amount. No decision was actually reached, the matter being postponed until the delimitation of the new Franco-Liberian boundary should be achieved.

Great Britain's claim to this region was based upon the flimsiest pretext. It is true that she had had relations with Fabundah before the boundary had been delimited; it is true that, previous to that date, she had had a force in Kanre-Lahun; however, when the boundary was actually fixed, Kanre-Lahun was clearly within Liberian territory, and no objection whatever was made to the Republic's taking possession and to the withdrawal of the Sierra Leone force. When, later on, Great Britain sent soldiers into the area, it was done on the pretext that intertribal difficulties in the region threatened British interests; permission was given as a favor to Great Britain and with the expectation that, as soon as the difficulty had been adjusted, the British force would be withdrawn. Such was not the case; once in Kanre-Lahun, it remained there; Major Lomax was hounded from the country; the Liberian customs officer, Mr. Hughes, was ordered to abandon his post of duty and to surrender the customs house to the British commander. This act of occupation was bad enough; but soon Great Britain demanded that the army of occupation should be paid by the Liberian Government before it would evacuate the district; no such understanding had been arranged, and the claim was unjustified and ridiculous; the frontier force of Sierra

Leone was not increased, nor put to any extra expense in the matter. In asking for a new boundary line which should cut out Fabundah's territory, flagrant injustice was committed; it is true that the boundary which had been arranged cut the land controlled by the chief; about one-twenty-fifth of his territory was on the British side, the remaining twenty-four-twenty-fifths being in Liberia; if a new line were to be drawn, it should have given the one-twenty-fifth to Liberia and reduced the Sierra Leone territory. The matter dragged along for months. December 8, 1909, President Barclay accepted a proposition to exchange or sell the district in dispute; the legislature refused to accept the proposition. In May, 1911, however, an agreement was finally arranged; the British authorities took over the Kanre-Lahun District, an area of extraordinary wealth and dense population; in return for this valuable and most needed area, Liberia received a piece of country lying between the Morro and Mano Rivers, which had formerly been a part of the Colony of Sierra Leone; this territory is almost without population, densely forested, and practically worthless. Even so, it is little likely that the Republic will be left in peaceful possession of it. On some pretext, in the future, Great Britain will no doubt regain it.

THE FRENCH BOUNDARY QUESTION.

When Maryland was added to the Liberian Republic, it possessed lands acquired by deeds of purchase and treaties as far east as the San Pedro River, sixty miles east of the Cavalla; this country was occupied by Kru tribes, and its eastern boundary practically marked their limit; it was hence not only a geographical, but an ethnographical boundary. For years no one questioned Liberia's right to the whole area, and on maps and in repeated descriptions of the country its rights were recognized. In 1885, however, the French Government claimed that the French possessions extended continuously from the Ivory

Coast westward beyond the Cavalla River and Cape Palmas as far as Garawé; at the same time it suggested certain shadowy claims to Cape Mount, Grand Bassa, and Grand Butu;—in other words, points at intervals along the whole coast of the Liberian Republic; these claims were based on agreements stated to have been drawn up between native chiefs and the commanders of war vessels. In 1891 the French Government officially communicated to Great Britain her intention of taking possession of and administering the district mentioned as far as Garawé; she modified her claim, however, in such a way as to extend her rights only to the Cavalla River. In 1891 a French commissioner was authorized to treat with Liberia in this matter. He claimed that the French had deeds to Grand Cesters, dating to 1788, and to Garawé, dating to 1842; he referred to other shadowy rights and mentioned treaties which, he asserted, chiefs in the neighborhood of the Cavalla and San Pedro Rivers had made with French authorities; asked to produce these documents, he admitted that he did not have them with him. The French Government asked that Liberia should recognize the right of France from the Cavalla River to the San Pedro, saying that, if this recognition were granted, they might not revive their old claims. Liberia urged that the treaty formed with her by the French Government in 1852 clearly recognized her rights to the region in question; a French war map, dated 1882, was shown, on which Liberia's area was clearly shown to extend to the San Pedro River; at the same time Liberia asked that the whole matter should be referred to arbitration. Arbitration was refused; a treaty drawn up by France was offered for approval in August, 1892; the Liberian legislature refused absolutely to ratify it, and the Liberian Government appealed to the United States for assistance and advice. The country was greatly aroused over the manifest injustice of its powerful neighbor. Especially in Mary-

land, feeling ran high. A printed appeal was issued to the world. In it occurs the following passage:

“We appeal to all the civilized nations of the world.—Consider, we pray you, the situation. Having been carried away into slavery, and, by the blessing of God, returned from exile to our fatherland, are we now to be robbed of our rightful inheritance? Is there not to be a foot of land in Africa, that the African, whether civilized or savage, can call his own? It has been asserted that the race is not capable of self-government, and the eyes of many are watching the progress of Liberia with a view to determining that question. We only ask, in all fairness, to be allowed just what any other people would require—free scope for operation. Do not wrest our territory from us and hamper us in our operations, and then stigmatize the race with incapacity, because we do not work miracles. Give us a fair chance, and then if we utterly fail, we shall yield the point. We pray you, the civilized and Christian nations of the world, to use your influence in our behalf. We have no power to prevent this aggression on the part of the French Government: but we know that we have right on our side, and are willing to have our claims to the territory in question examined. We do not consent to France’s taking that portion of our territory lying between the Cavalla and San Pedro Rivers; nor do we recognize its claims to points on our Grain Coast which, as shown above, our government has been in possession of for so long. We protest, too, against that government’s marking off narrow limits of interior land for us. We claim the right to extend as far interiorward as our necessities require. We are not foreigners: we are Africans, and this is Africa. Such being the case, we have certain natural rights—God-given rights—to this territory which no foreigners can have. We should have room enough, not only for our present population, but also to afford a home for our brethren in exile who may wish to return to their fatherland and help us to build up a

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Foreign Office and asked their aid and interest in bringing about an understanding. Arrived in Paris, it was quickly found that the French were planning to possess themselves of all the territory situated in the basin of the Cavalla and the Upper St. Paul's Rivers; the British Foreign Office expressed sympathy, but did nothing more. In 1905 several efforts were made toward bringing about an agreement. Dr. Blyden was sent to France, but accomplished nothing; in November Sir Harry Johnston was asked to treat with the French Government which, however, refused to recognize him as an official negotiator. In 1907 Secretary Johnson was commissioned to treat with the French Government, but found its attitude most hostile and unfriendly. President Barclay himself was summoned to Europe; taking T. McCants Stewart with him, they joined Johnson, and interviewed the French officials. A treaty was submitted to them by which Liberia would be deprived of a large portion of her territory situated in the richest and most prosperous districts of the Republic. It was in vain that the Liberian commissioners remonstrated; the French were inflexible. The English Government had refused to deal with the commissioners in regard to the British boundary difficulty until they had come to some arrangement with France. In this unhappy condition of affairs, the commissioners decided to consult the American Ambassador in Paris; they asked that the United States should assist Liberia and prevent her being robbed of so large a portion of her territory, and should use her influence in bringing the French Government to submit the whole matter in dispute to arbitration. Ambassador White replied that he doubted whether the United States would aid Liberia in this crisis; he advised President Barclay to accept the treaty, urging that, if he failed to do so, the French would make further encroachments, and the Republic would meet with greater losses. As the case seemed hopeless, the commissioners accepted the treaty. It involved the delimitation of a fixed

boundary by an international commission. Liberia engaged two Dutch officials as her commissioners. They were on hand ready to fix the boundary in February, 1898, but were kept waiting until May by the dilatoriness of the French commissioners; in order to have a permanent boundary fixed, the Republic made great concessions and lost valuable regions. It was willing, however, to sacrifice much for peace.

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We stand at the threshold of a new era; new political theories are being advanced; new interpretations are being given to the principles of international law; larger fulfilments of national obligations are being required of individual nations; new duties are being thrust upon us. They cannot be shirked, we must keep pace with world requirements. Regeneration and reform must be our watchword. The people must see that they become so. The process must operate from within outwards, or else influences from without will compass our ruin.—E. BARCLAY.

THE FRONTIER FORCE.

When President Barclay was in London, the British Government demanded that certain internal reforms should take place in the Republic before it would discuss a final settlement of either the Mano River or Kanre-Lahun difficulties. Shortly after the President's return to Monrovia, Mr. Braithwait Wallis, Consul-General of Great Britain to Liberia, issued a memorandum on the subject—apparently under the fear "lest we forget". This memorandum, which bears the date of January 14, 1908, occupies four printed pages, and condenses into that brief space an astonishing amount of venom and insolence. A few quotations will show its spirit:

"Your Excellency will remember then being informed that a critical moment had arrived in the history of the Republic, that however it might have been twenty or even ten years ago, the time had now gone by when Liberia could re-enact the part of a hermit kingdom, and that she must not lose a moment in setting herself seriously to work to put her house in order, or be prepared at no distant date, to disappear from the catalogue of independent countries. His Majesty's Government, as Your Excellency is aware, have absolutely no designs against either the

independence or the integrity of the Republic. Their only desire is that a country which, on one of its frontiers, marches with an important British Colony, and with which not only that Colony, but Great Britain itself, has large and growing commercial relations, should have such a stable or effective Government as will conduce to its own prosperity, and remove any danger of its losing its independence. His Majesty's Government do not consider that the Government of the Republic is either stable or effective. Improvement has indeed resulted from the appointment of two Customs Officers, and the Customs revenue of the country has largely developed. But it is also considered as absolutely essential, if such improvement is to continue and to extend to other branches of the Government, that the finances of the country be placed, at any rate for the time being, in the hands of an European financial expert, and that at least three more European Customs experts be appointed. And further, no Government can be said to have a stable basis, when it is without any means of enforcing its authority. His Majesty's Government, therefore, considers that it is essential that a trustworthy police, under European officers, should be at once established. With regard to the appointment of a financial expert, who could advise and assist the Secretary of the Treasury, in the financial affairs of the Country, Mr. Lamont has already been appointed Financial Adviser to the Republic. He is, however, only so in name, but should now be made so in actual fact. His Majesty's Government further consider that the Liberian judiciary ought to undergo drastic reform." Mr. Wallis recapitulates the reforms demanded in the following statement: (a) the appointment of a financial expert, who will place the finances of the country on a sound footing, and will advise the Secretary of the Treasury on financial matters. (b) The establishment of an efficient, well armed, and well disciplined police force under competent European Officers; and one that will

command the respect of the Powers. (c) The appointment of at least three more European Customs experts. (d) The reform of the judiciary. "If the Liberian Government carry out the reforms herein indicated within SIX MONTHS, counted from the date of Your Excellency's return to Monrovia from England, His Majesty's Government will on their side be happy to assist in carrying them into effect in the same way as they have recently been assisting in the work of re-organizing the Liberian Customs. They will further be happy to suspend pressing the monetary and other claims which they have against Liberia, and will endeavor to come to a settlement, on a mutually satisfactory basis, on the long outstanding question of the navigation of the Mano River and the trouble on the Anglo-Liberian Frontier."

In other words, Great Britain was quite willing to assume the whole running of Liberian affairs; she would be glad to manage her financial matters, to train and handle her frontier force, to collect her customs duties, and manage them, to interfere with, and control her government completely. She hinted at what she might do if these reforms were not carried into effect; she ended with a querulous complaint regarding advantages which German shipping was said to be securing to the disadvantage of British interests. This truly extraordinary document was signed in the following highly dignified fashion:

I have the honor to be,
with great truth and regard
Sir,
Your Excellency's
most obedient,
humble servant,

BRAITHWAIT WALLIS,
HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S CONSUL.

One of the cries of the present day internationalism is "effective occupation". It is only as a country

demonstrates itself able to protect its borders, and to maintain peace within its limits, that it is admitted to justly hold its territory; there are some strange features involved in the expression, but it has a just foundation and is at present generally accepted. It is true, if Liberia is to be recognized as an independent nation, she must guard her borders, must prevent her people from troubling their neighbors, must protect life and property within her area. There is a stipulation in the French treaty of 1907 in regard to this matter; if Liberia cannot maintain a frontier force to protect her boundary, the French claim the right to place their own forces on Liberian territory for that purpose; the English, in their demanded reforms, insist upon an adequate and well trained police force upon the frontier; the demands are not unjust and must be met. In fact, the frontier force is one of the urgent and crying needs of Liberia.

While President Barclay was in London, he was approached by Capt. Mackay Cadell, who had served in the South African War; Capt. Mackay Cadell desired to be put in charge of the frontier force which it was believed that Liberia would organize in response to the British demands; he was not actually engaged by the President, but put in his appearance in January, 1908, ready for business; his employment was opposed by many, but finally, largely in order not to offend British susceptibilities, he was engaged, given the rank of Major—some question has been raised as to exactly *how* he came to carry the title captain—and was authorized, with the help of two British assistants, to organize the frontier force; he was also given authority to employ ten or more sergeants and buglers from Sierra Leone; it was naturally assumed that the force in general would be composed of Liberian natives. Major Mackay Cadell promptly began active work; barracks were erected upon the edge of Monrovia, and soon 250 men were enrolled for service. Their uniforms, arms, and ammunition were bought from Great Britain—so that

the whole enterprise was good for British trade; it is not clear, however, why the caps and other articles were stamped with the crown and other emblems of His British Majesty's service. Matters were going nicely, but it began to be suspected that a considerable number of the new soldiers were British subjects, and it was asked whether some of them had not served upon the Sierra Leone frontier force. These suspicions and doubts led finally to a protest from the French Vice-Consul who claimed that the force being organized was actually "a British army of occupation" which the Liberian Government was permitting to be organized in Liberian territory; he demanded that an equal number of French officers and of French subjects be added to the force. The Liberian Government inquired of Major Mackay Cadell with reference to the matter; he denied that there were any British subjects on the force, and depending on his answer, the Liberian Government denied the fact to the French official. Meantime, Major Mackay Cadell was making himself variously useful to the Monrovia city government; he undertook without compensation, the command of the city police force as chief of police; in place of the loyal Kru police, he put in Mende soldiers from the barracks; he also performed the functions of street commissioner, tax collector, city treasurer, and other duties until, finally, the citizens decided to dispense with his free services; he declined, however, to resign, and presented a large bill as the condition upon which he would deliver up the city property entrusted to him. (We quote from Ellis.) On October 27th Major Mackay Cadell was further questioned in regard to the composition of his force, and a report was demanded; it was then found that at least 71 out of the little army of 250 were actually British subjects; more than this, no doubt many of the Mende at the post, who were classed as "Liberians", really came from the portion of that tribe residing on the other side of the Sierra Leone bound-

ary. While this report was rendered, Major Mackay Cadell showed constant objection to supervision by the President of the Republic and to any suggestion of control. The President and his Cabinet, after meeting and discussing the matter, agreed upon the dismissal of Major Mackay Cadell, but out of courtesy gave him the opportunity of resigning his position.

The French Vice-Consul continued to insist on his demands; understanding that Capt. Wallis had given his consent to the appointment of French officers and subjects, the President prepared to make such appointments. Just at this juncture Capt. Wallis returned from an absence, and at his own request, on November 13, had a meeting with the President and the members of the Cabinet, at which he presented to them what purported to be a communication from the British Government. Some mystery seems to be associated with this document, but it is understood that its effect was that, if Frenchmen were appointed to the direction of the frontier force, and French subjects were enlisted in it, Great Britain would unite with France to disrupt and divide the Republic. In December the legislature demanded that the services of Major Mackay Cadell should be dispensed with. He, however, hesitated to hand in his resignation. The legislature ordered a complete re-organization of the frontier force under a Liberian officer, with only two British subjects to be employed in the whole organization—the two assistant officers whom Major Mackay Cadell had employed. On February 1 the Major sent in his resignation. Acting on order of Consul-General Wallis, he turned over the arms and ammunition in his charge to the Elder Dempster Co., and announced the fact to the Liberian Government; at the same time Consul-General Wallis applied for an official guard to protect the property thus placed in private British hands; the Secretary of State, F. E. R. Johnson, expressed his surprise that a consul, without consultation with the proper Liberian authorities, should order property

belonging to Liberia (although payment had not yet been made for it) to be turned over into private hands, and refused to accept the responsibility of placing a guard in charge. On February 11, 1909, Major Mackay Cadell sent a remarkable message to President Barclay, informing him that the native soldiers were in serious danger of mutiny on account of arrears in payments; at the same time he sent messages to the two houses of the legislature, requesting that the men be permitted to appear before them and state their grievances; he said that, if some redress were not given, the men could not be blamed for what might be done. Steps were at once taken for public defense; fortunately some 400 of the militia were in Monrovia for quarterly drill. After some seventy soldiers from the barracks had appeared upon the public streets, parading, threatening and menacing the seizure of the arms and ammunition, a force was sent to demand the surrender of the camp; at the same time, notice of this was sent to Consul-General Wallis. Major Mackay Cadell refused to surrender, making conditions which would involve several days' delay; his immediate surrender, however, was demanded, and other militia forces were sent for. Notice of this new demand was sent to Consul-General Wallis with the request that he should order British subjects out of the camp; this he did; Major Mackay Cadell decided to capitulate; the camp was occupied. At a court of inquiry held to investigate the difficulty, the British sergeants said that Major Mackay Cadell himself had instigated the mutiny; that he had selected a certain number of men to insult the President, to arrest him, and take him to camp. A curious fact in connection with this whole extraordinary procedure is that, on the 4th of February, one week before the President of the Republic was informed of the danger of imminent mutiny, notice of it had been cabled to Great Britain. It was perhaps by accident that a British gunboat was in the harbor on the 10th, the day before the outbreak—the

name of this gunboat, by the way, quite appropriately was the *Mutin*. In closing the account of this strange incident, quotations may be made from the official report of the American Commission which visited Liberia shortly afterwards:

"But if Major Cadell got on very well with his troops, he got on very badly with the Liberian people and the Liberian Government. He was a man of indomitable energy, but guileless of tact. His actions on various occasions affronted the Liberian officials. Through indifference to the law, or by design, he enlisted a considerable number of British subjects among the troops, about one-fourth of his men being natives of Sierra Leone. When called to account for it, he at first denied and afterwards admitted that some of the men might have been born in Sierra Leone, but that he supposed them to be residents of Liberia, and therefore, Liberians. Being called upon to dismiss the British subjects, he neglected to do so. About the beginning of the present year he began to complain that his men were not paid, and demanded further supplies from the Government, though he was very dilatory in presenting accounts for the money already entrusted to him. The dissatisfaction with Major Cadell's conduct in matters of the camp led to the passage of a law by the Liberian Legislature in January, 1909, re-organizing the force and dismissing its commander. The President, who had upheld Major Cadell, offered him an opportunity to resign, but on one pretext or another, he delayed doing so, and when he sent in his resignation, the Government could not accept it until his accounts had been adjusted. He remained, in the meantime, in charge of the command, and on February 11, 1909, wrote a threatening letter to the President, in which he stated that, if the demands of the troops for the payment of money due them were not met within twenty-four hours, he could not be responsible for the maintenance of peace or for the safety of the President. This remarkable letter nat-

urally created much excitement in Monrovia, but the situation was handled with extreme adroitness by the Liberian Government which demanded that Major Cadell withdraw the British subjects composing his force, and that he turn over the camp to the Liberian authorities who would deal with the Liberian subjects. This order was reluctantly obeyed on the recommendation of the British Consul-General, and it was then discovered that seventy-one of the enlisted men were British subjects. Two or three weeks afterwards, after settling up his accounts, whereby it was revealed that he had involved the Government in a considerable unauthorized debt, he sailed for England and was soon followed by his brother officers."

Again:

"On February 4, the British in Monrovia cabled to the Foreign Office that the lives of foreign residents in Liberia were in danger, and urged that a gunboat be sent for their protection. . . . On February 10 the British gunboat *Mutin* appeared and anchored off Monrovia. On February 11 and 12 England precipitated the rupture of the Government. But for the prompt and judicious action of the Liberian Executive, aided by the American Minister Resident, the following would presently have been the situation: A British gunboat in the harbor, a British officer in command of the frontier force, and a large number of British subjects among the enlisted men, a British official in charge of the Liberian customs, a British officer in command of the Liberian gunboat *Lark*, a British regiment in the streets of Monrovia."

The fine hand of Consul-General Wallis of course is evident throughout these events. How seriously he was implicated is suggested in the following passage from the report of the Commission: "It is most unfortunate that the Commission has been unable to secure an account of these events from the principal British actors in them. When we reached Monrovia, Major Cadell had left Liberia. The British Consul-

General was away on leave of absence. We were the more disappointed in not meeting the latter, as, before our departure, we had been shown in the State Department at Washington a despatch of the Ambassador in London, stating that the British Foreign Office there had instructed its representative in Monrovia to give the American Commission the fullest information about Liberian affairs. The acting Consul-General had no knowledge of the facts, and covered his obvious embarrassment, when asked to explain some of them, by the plea that he had no inside information."

It has been said that the British Government admits that Consul-General Wallis went beyond his authority. It is, however, significant that he was not reduced in position; he left Liberia, of course—his usefulness there having more than ended; but he was transferred to Dakar, Senegal, the finest consular post in all West Africa.

As for Major Mackay Cadell, he now poses as Liberia's real and great friend; he has, however, changed his name, and is now known as Major R. Mackay-Mackay. He is associated with the Cavalla River Co., Limited. This appears to be a strange mixture of a commercial, educational, and philanthropical character; always, however, primarily exploitative. Before going to Liberia in connection with his duties with this company, Major R. Mackay-Mackay traveled in the United States; arrived in Liberia, he gives the impression that the State Department of the United States is behind his enterprise, and that Booker T. Washington is deeply interested in its success. He throws the responsibility for all the past upon those "higher up"; it seems that personally he always loved Liberia and was her friend. When he passed through Monrovia on his way down to the Cavalla, he simply showered advice and benevolence along his path. An interview with him was published in *The Guide*. He says: "Liberia can not go on living on loans as in the past. Why

should she be dependent on gold from outside when she has a hundredfold within her own borders, at the very door? Standing at the street corners, discussing politics, or waiting for dollar-bills to grow and fall from the trees around, will not advance the welfare of the Republic, nor attract the genuine sympathy and co-operation from the outside world. Work! work! work! that is what Liberia needs; and there are those who are prepared to create the opportunity, provided all make up their minds to work as they should. Is manual labor considered a disgrace in other countries? Why should it be in Liberia?"

Also: "I am here on a visit and to let Liberia know that she has more friends than she counts on; and they will increase in proportion to her efforts to help herself. I for my part will do all I can in my humble way to preach 'Liberia regenerated' to all, and help where I can without treading on ground other than within my rights as a visitor and friend." Most touching, however, is this: "Yes" (there are signs of awakening), "since my return I see the most wonderful strides made in many directions, and a keen desire in the citizens of the wider ideas to aid in their country's advancement. May it continue. In every season is some victory won. Let us bury the past with all its errors, sadness, and regrets."

It is sad indeed that humanity is not prone to bury the past; even such expressions of affection may be received unkindly. What could be more dreadful, when a man oozes philanthropy from every pore, than to have such things said of him as the following which appeared about that time in Green's paper, *The African League*?

"Major R. Mackay-Mackay, whose name stinks in the nostrils of all country-loving Liberians, because of his conduct when in command of our frontier force, is back in Liberia again, this time at the head of a company whose procedure thus far has not inspired the strongest confidence. More is known of

this intimacy than the men themselves may think. The last steamer brought intelligence that an agent of Major Cadell's company, the Cavalla River Co., Limited, is now in Sierra Leone, with 630 natives of that colony who are to be brought to Cape Palmas soon to serve this company. It is very strange that this company finds it necessary to employ natives from the colony of Sierra Leone, when in Liberia is the largest market for unskilled laborers in Western Africa, supplying, as it does, most, if not all, of that class of labor employed in the various enterprises in British, French, and German African colonies. We hope this is no new coup."

The Frontier Force has continued in its development. The present plans involve the organization of a battalion of 600 men under a major; each of the two companies of 300 soldiers will be under a captain; and each company will have three Liberian lieutenants; the three chief officers will be Americans loaned to the Liberian Government by the United States. The general duties of the force will be those of a constabulary for the maintenance of law and order throughout the Republic and for the prevention and the detection of crime; it will also be used as a customs guard in such numbers and at such places as may be agreed upon by the Secretary of War and the general receiver of customs. Its estimated cost for the year 1913 was \$86,159.60. The American officers arrived in the Republic in the spring of 1912. They were Major Ballard and Captains Brown and Newton. In entering upon their new duties of developing and organizing the Frontier Force, they had the great advantage of the advice and interest of Major Charles Young of the United States Army, who was in Monrovia as military attaché of our legation. We had ample opportunity of investigating this Frontier Force. It is composed for the most part of natives fresh from the interior; two hundred of them passed through our hands for examination and measurement; they were fine fellows, well built and in good

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physical condition; few of them understood English, and among them several languages were represented; they were proud of their position and anxious to improve; they were easily led, particularly by officers who treated them with kindness; we saw two parties of these soldiers started off for service; they made a good appearance. While we were there—as is true indeed much of the time—their payments were behind, and they were expressing some dissatisfaction, but were easily controlled; there is, however, always a danger of mutiny when the Government is behind in meeting its obligations to them; I quote from one who was in Monrovia October 10, 1911; he says: "I heard quite an altercation in the street. Upon going out I saw about 120 men moving through the street in a disorderly mass toward the office of the Secretary of War. Upon arriving at the office, there was quite a demonstration and matters looked serious. After a great deal of persuasion on the part of the Secretary and the one officer from the camp, the men moved away in the direction of Camp Johnson. I was informed that the men were demanding their pay." There is also great danger of the Frontier Force, when marching through the interior, looting and destroying the fields and villages through which they pass; this is so much in the nature of ordinary native warfare that it must be particularly guarded against; the Frontier Force, however, is necessary, and it seems to be making a promising development.

Compare, you say, the present with the past. Where are the schooners and cutters that were used to be built right here in Liberia, when nearly every responsible man had his own? Where are the tons of sugar that used to be shipped to foreign parts by our fathers, and the barrels of molasses, and the tons of camwood? Where are the financial men of the country that looked upon the holding of public offices almost beneath them, who had to be begged to fill the offices? Where are those who when they (had) made their farms lived off the farms? Oh, where are the honest, upright and loyal government officials of 1847? You answer for yourselves. Where are the great Liberian merchants of Monrovia, Grand Bassa, Sinee, and Cape Palmas? Gone!—S. D. FERGUSON, JR.

TRADE DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSPORTATION.

Liberia's very existence depends upon her development of trade. If the Liberians push forward in this direction, her future may be assured. If, however, she neglects it, her neighbors, France and England, can not be expected to permit their opportunity to pass. The area of the Black Republic is far too rich by nature to be overlooked; if its legitimate owners fail to develop it, others will do so.

The past of Liberia was built on trade in wild produce; its immediate prosperity must depend upon the same source of wealth. For the moment the trade of Liberia must be in such things as palm nuts, piassava, and rubber.

The oil palm has been the most important source of wealth Liberia has. The tree produces great quantities of nuts, growing in large clusters, from which an oil is easily extracted, which finds enormous use in soap- and candle-making. This oil is derived from the stringy, fleshy coating of the nut; the nuts are thrown into pits dug in the ground, where they are allowed to ferment for some time; the mass of fer-

mented nuts is then squeezed in a sort of press run by hand, and the oil is extracted. This is the primitive, native style of production. The oil may also be produced by boiling and pounding the nuts and then stone-boiling the mass in wooden troughs, the oil being skimmed off from the surface of the water. In Liberia palm oil is chiefly produced in the counties of Bassa and Sinoe. Liberian oil is not the best quality on the market, as carelessness in preparation leaves considerable dirt and impurities in it; it has, however, brought good prices—up to £24.10.0 a ton. Inside the palm nut is a hard kernel which remains after the oil has been extracted; this kernel at first was wasted; to-day it is known to yield a finer oil than the pulp; the idea of exporting palm nut kernels originated with a Liberian, and the first shipment was made in 1850; to-day there is a large demand for palm kernels which sell at prices ranging from \$60 to \$68 per ton, the oil derived from them selling at \$130 to \$133 per ton.

Second, certainly, in importance, among the raw products exported from Liberia is piassava; it is the fiber of a palm—*raphia vinifera*. Large use is made of this extremely resistant fiber for brooms and brushes for street sweeping and the like; its use, too, was suggested by a Liberian in 1889; it was first exported in 1890 and for a time brought the astonishingly high price of from \$300 to \$350 per ton; as the fiber was easy to prepare and the trees were plentiful, a rapid development took place; Liberia was for a long time the only source of supply; carelessness ensued in the preparation of the fiber, the demand lessened and the price dropped; it went down to £10 per ton; at present the price is somewhat better and is stationary at £20. Sir Harry Johnston, from whom these details are borrowed, says that it is difficult to judge the quality of raphia, that it shrinks in weight, and that trade in it is somewhat speculative and uncertain; still, piassava fiber occupies an important position in the Liberian trade to-day.

Africa appears to be the continent which presents the greatest number of rubber-yielding plants; in Liberia the precious exudation is obtained from some sixteen different kinds of trees and vines, varying as to the quality and character of rubber yielded. The rubber of Liberia is not considered of the highest class, but it is of good grade; the natives of the interior are skilled in its collection; there is no doubt that great quantities of wild rubber are still to be obtained within the limits of the Republic and experiments in rubber-planting have already been made with promise.

Sir Harry Johnston gives a long list of other natural products which have been exported from Liberia at one time or another in varying quantities. There was a time when camwood found a ready market and formed perhaps the most important element in Liberian trade—of course with the invention of other dye-stuffs, the use of camwood, annatto, etc., has practically ceased; the name "Grain Coast" or "Pepper Coast" was long given to this country on account of the malagueta pepper which was exported in great quantities—this, too, has ceased to be a product of practical importance; kola nuts are to some degree exported from Liberia, and with the ever-increasing use of the kola in America and European countries, trade along this line should develop; ivory has always been among the export products of Liberia, though it has never had great significance; vegetable ivory nuts are produced here and to some extent form an article of trade—the demand for them in button-making is large and increasing, and exportation of them may reasonably be developed; hides and oil-yielding seeds complete the list of actual native export products. Sir Harry Johnston calls attention to the fact that the country is rich in ebony, mahogany, and other fine woods, in copal and other gums, in ground nuts, fruits, and minerals; these, however, have never been actual materials for export; all

are valuable, however, and trade in them might be developed.

All of these raw products of natural production are valuable, but that they shall form an element in trade depends upon the natives. These things all come from the forests of the interior; if they are to be traded to the outside world, they must be collected and transported by the people within whose territory they are found; this dependence is an uncertain thing. The natives have few needs; in their little towns they take life easily; they have no sentimental interest in the development of trade as such nor in the upbuilding of the country; they care comparatively little for the returns of trade; they will work when necessary, but only as they please; when they need some money for buying wives, they will prepare some piassava fiber or dig a pit, ferment some nuts, and squeeze some oil. When they have enough for the immediate and pressing necessity, work stops, and with it the supply of oil or fiber or whatever they may have seen fit to produce. More than this, the native is little concerned about the quality of his production. So long as he can sell it and raise the resources that he needs, he does not care whether the oil is clean, whether the piassava fiber is of good quality, or whether the rubber contains dirt and stones. Impurity, however, of products is a very serious matter to the outside world; a district which neglects quality loses trade. Liberian oil, fiber, rubber, all are at a disadvantage at present through the carelessness of the producers.

It must, then, be the policy of the Liberian Government to encourage, by every legitimate means within its power, the increase of the production of the natural resources. Nor is the simple question of production the whole difficulty. Transportation is quite as important. The product, no matter how good or how precious, has no value as long as it remains in the bush. There are different methods of dealing with this matter of getting the natural products down

to the coast settlements. The simplest and most natural is to let the native bring it out—but the natives are as little inclined to travel and carry as they are to produce; they will fetch down their product when they feel inclined—but the demand from without is constant. Liberians may go into the bush to bring out the products; there are always little traders who divide their time between the settlements and the interior; they travel in, sit down for several days at native towns, trade with the natives for whatever stuff they have on hand, then have it carried out; such traders are usually independent men of small means who are trading on their own account. It is not uncommon for the large trading-houses to hire agents,—Liberians or natives,—and send them into the interior to buy up and bring down products. Another method—which, in the long run, will prove no doubt the most satisfactory,—is to establish here and there in the interior permanent trading stations, supplied with a fair stock of goods, to be traded with the natives against their raw products—trading stations of this kind are already established by the Monrovia Rubber Company and by various of the great trading-houses.

In some way or other the Government should adopt a method of encouraging the natives of the interior to gather, to properly prepare, and to bring in raw produce; a definite scheme of practical education and encouragement must be devised.

While raw products offered by nature have been and are the chief element in Liberian trade, another element is immediate, and will ultimately be the chief dependence of the nation. Agriculture, though far from being in a satisfactory condition, has always contributed material for export. The country can not forever count upon a supply of raw products. Gradually the value of the forests will become secondary to that of produce of the fields. There is no reason why the Liberian coffee should not be fully re-established in the foreign market. The tree seems

to be a native of the country; Ashmun reported that it was found everywhere near the seacoast and to an unknown distance back from there. Under natural conditions, the tree grew often to a height of thirty feet and a girth of fifteen inches. Coffee berries from wild trees were brought in by hundreds of bushels to the early settlers by the natives. Plantations were soon established, and many of them met with great success; in fact, coffee was once the principal export of the Republic; it was mainly shipped from Monrovia and Cape Mount; the more important plantations were located along the St. Paul's River. Liberian coffee was much appreciated in the European market; at its period of greatest vogue it used to bring twenty-five cents a pound; the price has now fallen so low as eight or nine cents a pound. This decline is due, in part, of course, to the enormous development of the Brazilian coffee trade; it is, however, largely due to the carelessness of the Liberian planters, who had only primitive machinery for its preparation and who neglected proper care, with the result that the coffee berries reached the market broken and impaired. It is a delicious coffee, of full flavor, and improves with age. Sir Harry Johnston claims that about 1,500,000 pounds are annually produced, and reports that the output is increasing slightly. At the Muhlenberg Mission School, coffee is cultivated; care is taken in its preparation, and the price is rising; if the Liberians will give serious attention to the matter, there is no question that the old importance of the culture may be restored. It will require improved methods of cultivation, the use of better machinery, greater care in the preparation of the berry, and constant attention to proper packing and handling.

Discouraged at the fall in price of coffee, some Liberian planters introduced the culture of cacao, from which our chocolate and cocoa are derived; this culture has long been successful in some of the Spanish possessions of West Africa; in Liberia the

plant grows well, and the cacao seems to be of superior quality; it is said that a good price for it may be received in Liverpool. This culture must be considered as only in its infancy, but there appears to be no reason why it should not become of great importance.

The rubber so far sent out from Liberia has been wild rubber; it would seem that a wise policy in national development would be to encourage the establishment of plantations of rubber trees or vines. One such plantation has already been established by an English company, who hoped to gather the first harvest of latex in 1912; one would suppose that the best tree for planting would be the *funtumia* which is native to the country and a good yielder; it is chiefly this plant which is being set out by the Belgians in the Congo colony; the English company in Liberia, however, claims that their experiments with *funtumia* were not encouraging, and the species actually planted is the *hevea*—the one which yields the famous Para rubber. While coffee, cacao, and rubber will no doubt be the earliest important plantations to be developed in the country, other products should not be neglected. Ginger has already been well tested in the Republic—there have been times when it was quite an important article of export; sugar-cane grows well, and from the earliest days plantations of it have yielded something for local consumption—if capital were available, there seems no reason why profitable plantations of cane might not be made; cassava has always been to some degree an article of export in the past,—it is of course the main food product of the natives—it is the source of tapioca and other food materials abundantly in use among ourselves. Liberia at present imports rice from abroad, yet rice of excellent quality is easily cultivated in the Republic and forms a staple food in native towns—effort to increase its local production would be good economy from every point of view; fruits of many kinds—both native and imported—grow to perfection

in Liberia; experiments have been made, without particular results, in cotton raising—there are species of wild cotton in the country and experiments with both wild and foreign grades would determine to what degree culture of this useful fiber might be profitably carried on. This list of cultivated vegetable products might be enormously extended; we are only interested here in indicating those plants which would be important as trade products if their cultivation were seriously undertaken. In the matter of fruits, we may add a word; here is the suggestion of a beginning of manufacturing interests in the country; some of these fruits are capable of profitable canning or preservation, others might be dried, while still others yield materials which could be utilized outside; it would seem as if the natural beginning of manufacturing interests in the Republic would be in the establishment of factories to deal with these fruits and various derived vegetable materials.

It is to be anticipated that there will be a development in mining in Liberia; it is not an unmixed blessing to a country to possess mineral wealth; it may be disadvantageous to a little country, of relative political insignificance and actually weak, to possess great wealth of this sort. But there are certainly deposits of gold and diamonds in the Republic; these will in time be known, and their development will be undertaken. When that time comes, ores and other mineral products will form an element in national trade.

Closely associated with the matter of production is the question of transportation. It is one of the most serious that faces Liberia.

If produce can not be taken to the coast, it is of no value in the development of trade. There are practically no roads in Liberia to-day. As in the Dark Continent generally, narrow foot-trails go from town to town. The travel over them is always in single file, the path is but a few inches wide and has been sharply worn into the soil to a depth of several inches by the

passage of many human feet. As long as transportation is entirely by human carriers, such trails are serviceable, provided they be kept open. A neglected trail, however, is soon overgrown and becomes extremely difficult to pass; that a trail should be good, it is necessary that the brushwood and other growth be cut out at fairly frequent intervals. Often, however, the chief of a given village does not care to remain in communication with his neighbors and intentionally permits the trail to fall into disuse. There is a feeling too, surviving from old customs, that trails are only passable with the permission and consent of the chiefs of the towns through which they run; chiefs have always exercised the right of closing trails whenever it pleased them; they have expected presents ("dashes") for the privilege of passing. If now, large trade is to be developed in the matter of native produce, it is absolutely necessary that the trails be kept in good condition and that free passage over them be granted to all. Much of the energy of the Government must of necessity be directed toward these ends. At the best, however, there is a limit to the distance over which produce can be profitably transported on human backs; there must be very large inherent value in such produce to warrant its being carried more than a three days' journey by human carriers. It is not only the labor involved in the transportation, but the loss of time which renders this problem important. The richest resources lie at a great distance in the interior; even with good trails it is impossible to utilize them.

In time, of course, the foot-trails must be developed into actual roads; some other mode of transportation must be devised than that of the human beast of burden. Horses have never prospered in the neighborhood of Monrovia; yet there are plenty of them raised and, it is said, of good quality, among the Mandingo. Serious efforts should be made to introduce their use as beasts of draft and burden; if, as is likely, these experiments should come to naught,

attempts should be made to use oxen for hauling produce to the market. Improved trails and roads are of the highest importance to the Republic for several reasons. (a) For intercourse: only by means of them can ready and constant intercourse be developed between the different elements of population; no great development of trade, no significant advance, can be made without constant intercourse; it must be easy for the Government to reach and deal with the remotest natives of the far interior; it is equally important that peoples of neighboring towns have more frequent and intimate contact with each other; it is necessary that the members of different tribes come to know other tribes by daily contact. (b) For transportation; there is no reason why even the existing trails should not be covered with caravans carrying produce to the coast. (c) For protection; at present the movement of the Frontier Force from place to place is a matter of the highest difficulty; if trouble on the border necessitates the sending of an armed force, weeks must elapse before the enterprise can be accomplished; until the present unsatisfactory condition of trails be done away with, Liberia is in no position to protect her frontiers.

The construction by the English of the Sierra Leone Railroad running from the port of Freetown across the colony through the interior to the very border of Liberia, was a master stroke of policy; it not only developed the resources of the British area through which it passed and carried British products to the sea, but it tapped the richest part of the Liberian territory; formerly the production of that wealthy and well populated area found its way to Cape Mount and Monrovia; now it all goes out through a British port, in British hands. No single work would better repay an outlay by the Liberian Government than a good road running from Monrovia up the St. Paul's River, out to Boporo, and on through the country of the Mandingo to the region where this British road ends. Such a road would bring back

into Liberia her part of a trade which has always been legitimately her own. The idea would be to construct upon such a road-bed a light railroad; such an enterprise would very probably soon be upon a paying basis.

With the exception of one or two short stretches built by foreign companies for their own uses, there are neither roads nor railroads at the present time in the Republic. In 1912 the legislature granted a concession to the Cavalla River Company to make roads along the Cavalla River, to negotiate with the inhabitants of those parts for the development of the rice industry, etc. At the same session the right was granted to Wichers and Helm to negotiate a railroad scheme for the construction of a light railway from White Plains to Careysburg, and from Millsburg to Boporo, the right was also granted to construct a railroad from Harper to Dimalu in Maryland County. It is to be hoped that these three enterprises may all develop; they would mean much for the progress of the country.

We have spoken of the exports of Liberia; the imports consist chiefly of cotton goods, hardware, tobacco, silks, crockery, guns, gun-powder, rice, stock-fish, herrings, and salt. Most of these items are the staples which for centuries have maintained the trade of Western Africa. The total value of this import trade is estimated by Sir Harry Johnston at about \$1,000,000 annually. It is curious that rice should need to be imported; 150,000 bags, equal to 700 tons are brought in every year; this rice is used entirely by the civilized Liberians; certainly they should be raising their own rice or buying it from natives. That salt should be introduced into a coast district where salt, by evaporation from seawater might be easily produced, is less strange than would appear at first sight; the salt from Europe is, on the whole, better in quality and is more cheaply produced than the local article of Liberia. The stock-fish is brought from Norway and is especially in demand

among the Kru. Intoxicating drinks do not occur in the list above quoted; Sir Harry Johnston says that gin and rum are introduced, but that there is not much drunkenness among the people. Measures are taken to prevent the introduction of gin among the natives, but a great deal must be surreptitiously introduced among them; when we were in the Bassa country, our interpreter's constant regret was that we had not loaded up with a large supply of gin which, he assured us, would accomplish much more with the chiefs of the interior towns than any other form of trade-stuff. The bulk of the cotton goods taken into Liberia is intended for trade with the interior natives; the patterns brought vary but little and are extremely old-fashioned—taste having been long ago established and the natives being conservative in such things.

As to the actual volume of trade and its movement, some words are necessary. Recent figures are supplied in a little table issued by the Republic in a small pamphlet entitled *Some Trade Facts*; it covers the period extending from 1905 to 1912. As will be seen, during that period of time, the customs revenue of the Republic more than doubled. Part of this favorable result undoubtedly was due to the fact that the administration of the customs service was for that time largely in the hands of a British Chief Inspector of Customs. There is no reason why this encouraging movement of trade should not continue. There is wealth enough in Liberia, if it can only be properly developed. The resources are enormous; the difficulties have been in handling them. The Republic has usually been in financial difficulties; it has been hard work to make ends meet; but there is no question that with good management and legitimate encouragement the national income may be more than necessary to meet all obligations, to pursue conservative policies of development, and to attract favorable assistance from the outside world.

STATEMENT OF CUSTOMS REVENUE OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA FOR YEARS 1905-1912

(1st April-31st March)							
Port	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12
Monrovia	\$114,098	\$129,077	\$128,030	\$117,524	\$135,916	\$144,292	
Cape Mount, etc.	38,128	31,901	19,327	25,907	27,809	36,125	
Marshall	11,195	18,412	16,666	8,211	12,761	23,679	
Grand Bassa, etc.	103,494	112,168	105,273	109,876	118,783	140,457	
Sinoe, etc.	30,228	32,784	27,172	33,960	28,208	31,784	
Cape Palmas, etc.	30,603	41,412	48,314	66,018	78,028	86,615	
Kabawana, etc.	166	3,483	1,808	206	1,238	3,841	
Rubber Duties collected in London.			7,443	8,614	8,725	4,655	4,637
Total	\$230,580	\$327,913	\$376,684	\$355,208	\$370,431	\$407,400	\$471,335

It is interesting to notice with whom Liberia's trade is carried on. Britain of course has always led; Germany comes second, Holland third, and other nations follow. Sir Harry Johnston says that in 1904 the total value of British trade with Liberia was £112,779, while the total trade of the British Empire with the Republic was £132,000; the £20,000 difference represent trade with Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast chiefly. On the whole it would seem that Germany is crowding Britain and bids fair to lead. A little table will show this clearly; the first statement shows the amount of British imports, exports, and entire trade for the years 1904, 1908, and 1909 in pounds sterling; a second statement shows the corresponding items for German trade for the years 1908 and 1909 in marks; a third statement changes the totals figures to dollars at the rate of five dollars to the pound and four marks to a dollar, which of course is only approximate. It shows, however, that Germany is actually crowding her longer established rival.

(a) BRITISH TRADE WITH LIBERIA (Soler)

	Imports	Exports	Total
1904	£60,350	£62,710	£123,060
1908	74,348	75,137	149,485
1909	69,511	63,500	133,011

(b) GERMAN TRADE WITH LIBERIA (Soler)

1908	1,177,000 mks.	1,856,000 mks.	3,033,000 mks.
1909	1,095,000 mks.	2,282,000 mks.	3,377,000 mks.

(c) ENGLISH AND GERMAN TRADE (1908-1909)

	1908	1909
English	\$747,425	\$665,055
German	758,250	844,250

The Liberian nation is to be made up of the Negro civilized to some extent in the United States and repatriated, and of the aboriginal tribes. At present it is composed of a small number of civilized and a large number of aboriginal communities in varying degrees of dependence. The problem is how to blend these into a national organism, an organic unity.—A. BARCLAY.

THE NATIVE.

Jore, in his valuable study of Liberia, discusses the question of the actual number of natives in Liberia as follows: "Messrs. Johnston and Delafosse have estimated the number of natives of Liberia at 2,000,000 persons. This figure would appear to-day to be above the actual. In fact, from serious studies which have been made in French West Africa, it results that a density of population superior to twelve inhabitants to the square kilometer, has been found only in Lower Dahomey, Ovagadougou, in Upper Senegal and Niger, in Lower Senegal, and in a very restricted part of Middle Guinea. Generally the density remains inferior to five inhabitants to the square kilometer. But there is no reason to believe that Liberia is, in its entirety, more populous than our own possessions in West Africa. In taking the density at the figure 8, one runs the chance of still finding himself above the reality. Liberia, having to-day 80,000 square kilometers, its population ought scarcely to surpass 600,000 or 700,000 inhabitants. In any case, it certainly does not go beyond 1,000,000 persons." This estimate seems to us far more reasonable than any other that has been made. Even thus reduced, the native population overwhelmingly outnumbered the Americo-Liberian. More than that, they are at home and acclimated; they enjoy good health and presumably are rapidly increasing. We have

indeed no means of actually knowing such to be the fact. But the impression gained from observation is that, while the Americo-Liberians barely hold their own, the Kru, the Mohammedans, and the natives of the interior are flourishing. Even in crowded and unsanitary towns, like those which occur upon the borders of Liberian settlements, the Kru appear to be increasing. Krutown, at Monrovia, suffers from frightful mortality, but those who live are vigorous, hardy, and energetic. The houses are crowded close together, but there are no empty houses falling into ruins and no shrinkage in the area occupied. The schools (that is, the mission schools of the Methodists) are crowded with children; the Kru mission chapel (Protestant Episcopal) is maintained with an energy and interest which could be found only among a people who were looking out upon life with the hope and vigor which comes from physical prosperity. So far as the natives of the interior are concerned, they show every sign of increase. There are of course abandoned towns and villages in plenty, but the towns now occupied are filled with people, and children swarm.

But there are natives and natives. The different natives form distinct problems—it is not just one simple proposition. The Mandingo and Vai are Mohammedan populations; they are independent, proud, aggressive; they are industrious, and their industries render them to a large degree independent of all neighbors. Their towns and villages are large, prosperous, and relatively wealthy. Few visitors have ever penetrated into their country; it is practically unknown to the Liberians. Yet it is in the highest degree important that the Liberians should know them thoroughly, should come into close and intimate contact with them, should co-operate with them in the development and advancement of the country. In their towns and villages boys are taught Arabic and read the Koran; it is true—as in so much religious teaching elsewhere—that they often learn only to

repeat the words of the sacred texts without any knowledge of their actual meaning—many, however, read with understanding. It is an interesting fact that the Vai have a system of writing which has been invented by themselves; it is widely known among them and they are fond of writing letters and making records in their own script. Momulu Massaquoi, whose name is well known in this country and in England, is a Vai; he governed a considerable section of his people as chief through a period of years; he has now for some time been located at Monrovia, where he ably fills the position of chief clerk in the Department of the Interior; he is useful to the Government as an intermediary between it and the Mohammedans of the Republic; although himself a Christian, both Mandingo and Vai have more confidence in him than they could possibly repose in a stranger to their customs and languages. There are various ways in which the Government might proceed to develop friendly relations with these people. They should encourage village schools—both religious and secular; in the religious schools, which should be uncontrolled, the Koran and Arabic would continue to be the chief subjects taught; in the other schools there should be the usual subjects taught in the public schools of the Americo-Liberians; these will best be taught through the Vai language, and charts and text-books should be printed in the native characters. Mr. Massaquoi has already undertaken to prepare such text-books. Trade with these peoples should be encouraged; and developed as rapidly as possible. No opportunity should be lost to impress upon them that their interests and those of the Liberians are one, and every effort should be made to gain co-operation. These peoples occupy that portion of the Republic which is most in danger of aggression by the British; surely the natural impulse is for these black peoples, though they be Mohammedans, to unite in common progress with other blacks rather than with any whites. If religion is actually a barrier against friendship and co-opera-

tion, it would be as strong against friendship with the British Christians as against Liberian Christians. There is no question, however, that if the Government of the Republic will deal justly, amicably, and wisely with these tribes, they will heartily respond.

The Kru and related peoples of the coast form a completely different proposition. They are full of force and vigor; Sir Harry Johnston and others call them "cheeky"; they are actually awake. They are ready for progress; they want education; they have for centuries been in contact with white men and know their strength and weakness; they are strong, intelligent, industrious, and want work. They have no dainty fears regarding labor, so that it be paid—but pay they want, and justly. At the present they form the strongest immediate hope in the Liberian population. We have said that they want education; as a matter of fact, they flock into the schools. When Bishop Ferguson was at Cape Palmas, in 1912, four promising-looking native boys walked from Pickaninny Cess, fifty miles to Cape Palmas. They told him they had heard of the big school (Epiphany Hall) and desired to attend; that another of their comrades was coming the following week. The Bishop says: "They are just the age when the inducement to go down the coast to earn money is strong; in fact they had already made several trips; but instead of going again, they had decided 'to learn book'. I did not have the heart to turn such applicants off, and so wrote to the Principal to admit them under special arrangement." When in Monrovia, I several times visited the College of West Africa. It is over-crowded and ministers to both Americo-Liberian and natives boys. On one occasion I seated myself in the midst of the class in fourth grade arithmetic. The recitation was well conducted and well given. While black-board work was occupying the general attention, I remarked to a boy at my side, "But you are a native boy." "Yes," he said, "I am Kru—and so is *that* boy, and *that* one, and *that* one." As a matter of

fact, I was practically surrounded by them. "Well," said I, "and how do you native boys get on? Do you do well?" "Yes, sir," was the immediate response, "we do well; we do better than *they* do." It was not necessary for me to ask who he meant by "they." I answered, "It would sound better if some one else said so." He replied, "That may be so; but it is true." "How does that happen?" I asked. His reply deserves attention: "We love our country more than they do, sir." I am not prepared to assert that they love their country more than the Americo-Liberians; it is true, however, that they are passionately fond of their native land. The first time that my personal attention was turned to the black Republic was in 1905 when a Kru boy upon our steamer bound to Congo told me with evident affection of his dear, his native land, and pointed out to me the distant green shore of the villages where his people were located. And whether they love their country more than the Americo-Liberians or no, they are more aggressive, more ambitious, more willing to work that they may achieve their ends. These Kru boys on their way to and from school often, after my visit to the College, dropped in to see me. There is the fixed intention among many of them to visit the United States and complete their studies in our schools. One of these boys informed me that five of them some months ago had entered into an agreement in some way or other to reach our country. All of them have made journeys on steamers along the coast; some of them have been to Europe; all of them can easily reach Hamburg and have money in their pockets; the anxious question with them all is how to go from Hamburg to New York—and whether they will be admitted in the port—and whether they can form connections after they are in our country. There is no foolishness in all these plans; they have thought them out in detail; they will come.

Then there are the pagan tribes of the interior.

They are a more serious proposition for the Liberian than the Mohammedans and Kru. They are still "bush niggers"; they live in little towns under the control of petty chiefs; most of them speak only a native language; there is no unity among them; not only are there jealousies between the tribes, but there are suspicions between the villages of one tribe and speech; they live in native houses, wear little clothing, have simple needs; they are ununited and know nothing of the outside world—they know little of France or England, have rarely seen a white man, scarcely know what the Liberian Government means or wants; they are satisfied and only wish to be left alone; they do not need to work steadily—life is easy, they raise sufficient rice and sweet-potatoes and corn and cassava to feed themselves; if they wish to cover their nakedness, they can weave cloth for their own use; there is little which they need from other peoples. Few know anything either of the teachings of the Prophet or Christianity; they practice fetish—"devil-worship"—have their bush schools for the instruction of their boys and girls in the mysteries of life and of religion. They are polygamists, the number of whose wives depends wholly upon the ability to accumulate sufficient wealth with which to purchase them. Among them domestic slavery—which, by the way, is not a matter which need particularly call for reprehension—is common; some of the tribes no doubt still practice cannibalism; It is these tribes in the interior upon which Liberia depends almost completely for the development of wealth; if Liberia shall flourish, it is necessary that these peoples shall produce and deliver the raw materials for shipment to the outside world; it is these peoples who must supply palm nuts, palm kernels, palm oil, piassava fiber, ivory, rubber, gums; it is these peoples who must keep the trails open, and develop them into roads; it is they who must permit the easy passage of soldiers and Government repre-

sentatives through their territories; it is they who must supply the soldiers for the Frontier Force.

It is clear, then, that the "natives" present no simple problem. There are many questions to be considered in laying out a native policy. The matter has by no means been neglected by Liberian rulers; one or another of them has grappled with it. Of President Barclay's native policy Gerard says: "Among many other subjects of preoccupation, Barclay attaches an entirely particular importance to the native policy. At the beginning of his administration, he brought together a great number of native chiefs, notably of the Gola, Kondo, and Pessy tribes; he convoked likewise a crowd of Kru and Grebo notabilities; he sent special missions along the Cavalla River up to two hundred kilometers from its mouth, and others up the St. Paul's. This innovation was so much the more appreciated by the natives, and aided so much more powerfully toward the development of mercantile relations of the coast district with the interior, because theretofore the repatriated negroes had been considered by their subjugated congeners only as unjust conquerors and pillagers, or as merchants who were equally tricky and dishonest."

President Howard also realizes the importance of conciliating the native populations; he designs to carry out an active policy; in his inaugural address he says: "We are aware of the oft-repeated charges of ill treatment toward this portion of our citizenship, made by foreigners against the officers of the Government, also of the fact that some of our people feel that these uncivilized citizens have but few rights which should be respected or accorded to them. But the responsible citizens recognize that in order for us to obtain that position of independence, power, and wealth, which we should obtain, it must be accomplished by the united efforts of all citizens, civilized and uncivilized, male and female. The denial of equal rights to the 'natives' has never been

the intention or purpose of the Government. We will not disallow that much wrong has been done to that portion of our citizen body, but it is equally true that much of the deception and misunderstanding of the past have been due to machinations and subterfuges of some unscrupulous aliens, among whom had been some missionaries who have done all in their power to make and widen the breach between the two elements of our citizenship. We are very optimistic, however, in our belief that the dangers of such exploitations and false pretensions of friendships are drawing to a close."

Again he says: "Much of our interior trouble of the past has been the result of a lack of proper understanding between ourselves and our fellow-citizens of that section of the land. Another source of trouble has been the actions of unqualified men sent among these people to represent the Government. We believe that great good will accrue to the State by holding frequent conferences with these chiefs and head men, and by responsible representatives of the Government, explaining to them its policy, the benefits to be derived by them in co-operating to build up the country, as well as the evils of the inter-tribal wars which they have been waging with each other for years."

Exactly how to unite the chiefs with the Government is a serious question; to seriously weaken their authority among their own people would lead to chaos; to lead them to recognize the supremacy of the Government and yet not arouse their hostility by the abrogation of their own powers is a delicate task. Yet it must be done. Of one of the notable features of this inaugural President Howard himself says the following: "The very large concourse of chiefs and head men from the interior of all the counties, as well as from the Kru coast and most of the Grebo towns in Maryland, who are up to take part in the inaugural exercises, is to me one of the most pleasing features of the occasion. Their presence here testi-

fies to their loyalty to the State and their willingness to co-operate with the Government in matters pertaining to the welfare of the country. Moreover it betokens the kindly feelings they and their people entertain toward the outgoing, and their well wishes for the incoming administration."

No less difficult than the question of how to adjust the power of the Government with the power of the chiefs is the problem of how to adjust Liberian law and practice to native law and practice. According to their constitution, Liberia must forever be without slavery. Still domestic slavery flourishes in the interior. We have already indicated our opinion that it is not a serious matter and that it may quite well be left to regulate itself with time; still there is bound to be an outcry on the part of outsiders in this matter. Liberia as a civilized and Christian nation is legally monogamous; yet both among Mohammedans, Kru and pagan interior tribes polygamy is common. Is it wise, is it possible to extend the monogamous law of the Republic to the polygamous natives? Cannibalism no doubt still exists among certain of the interior tribes; if so, it will be long before the strong arm of the Government located upon the coast can reach the practice. Among all these native tribes there are methods of procedure and ordeals which have their value and their place. Thus the sassy-wood ordeal is used not only in dealing with witchcraft, but with a thousand other difficulties and misdemeanors; personally I should consider it unwise to attempt to do away with such native methods of control; they work more certainly than the legal procedure of the civilized government can work. A wise policy will probably lead to the gradual disappearance of these things with a general advance in education and with a greater contact with the outside world. There is always, however, the danger of these native practices extending their influence upon the Christian populations in the outside settlements. If the bush negro is polygamous,

and the Americo-Liberian is in constant contact with his polygamy, the legal monogamy of the Government may become more difficult to maintain; if the sassy-wood ordeal is repeatedly seen to be effective in the conviction of the truly guilty, there will be a constant tendency to reproduce it for the detection and discrimination of criminals among the civilized; if domestic slavery is tolerable among the neighboring pagans, a feeling of the harmlessness of some vicious system of apprenticeship may be developed. These are real dangers, and while it probably is wise to exercise a deal of tolerance toward native customs, it must be constantly and carefully watched from this point of view.

The native life is certainly good in many ways; all that is actually good in it should be left so far as possible. Native houses are well adapted to the conditions of the country and nothing is gained by the attempt to change the styles of local architecture; scantness of clothing, or even nakedness, is not immoral, suggestive, or in itself worthy of blame—and native dress, though scanty, may be entirely becoming and even beautiful; there are many native arts—which, far from being blotted out, might well be conserved and developed; public palavers in native communities are often models of dignified conduct and serious consideration; the respect shown to native chiefs is often warranted and in every way should be encouraged and developed. The topic lends itself to many observations and tempts to full development. We can only say, however, that there are actually few things in native life which deserve condemnation and immediate destruction. The natives will be happier, better, and make more certain progress if they are permitted to build largely upon their own foundations. Dr. Blyden was always begging the people to make an African nation in Liberia, not the copy of a European state. Delafosse carries the same plea to an even greater extreme. It is impossible to actually meet the wishes of these gentlemen.

Liberia is and must be patterned after other civilized nations. Such a native African state, original in all things, and purely African, as Delafosse imagines, would not be permitted to exist a single week by the crowding, selfish, civilized and Christian foreign nations. If Liberia is to play within the game, it *must* follow the rules of play.

In dealing with its natives, the government should be frank, honest, and candid; it should make no promises unless it knows that it can keep them—unless it means to keep them—unless it will keep them. Too many times in the past, when misunderstandings have led to armed resistance on the part of native peoples, the Government has appealed to one or another man of great personal influence among the aroused natives. Facing danger, frightened, wanting peace at any price, it has authorized its representative to make promises of satisfaction which it knew perfectly well could not and would not be kept. Such a temporizing policy is always bad; it not only fails to right wrongs, but destroys the trust of natives in the government, and shatters the influence for good which the intermediary formerly enjoyed.

It is time that, in dealing with the natives, chiefs be considered as men and dealt with not as if they were spoiled children; appeals should be made to manhood and to principle, not to depraved ambitious tendencies. Less gin and more cloth should be used in gaining their assistance. President Howard pertinently says in this direction: "By way of encouraging the 'natives' to stay at home and develop their lands, we feel that instead of granting 'stipends' and 'dashes' as formerly, they should be given only to the chiefs and people who will put on the market so many hundred bushels of kernels, or gallons of oil, so many pounds of ivory, rubber, coffee, cocoa, ginger, etc., or so many hundred kroos of clean rice. The proceeds of these products, of course, would go to the owners. We feel that this plan would have a better result than the one now in vogue."

That there should be a feeling of caste in the Republic is natural. There are actual differences between the four populations which we have indicated. It is impossible that Americo-Liberians, Mohammedans, coast peoples, and interior natives should not feel that they are different from each other, and in this difference find motives of conduct. This feeling of difference is based upon actual inherent facts of difference, and can not be expected to disappear. It should, however, give rise to mutual respect, not to prejudice and inequality of treatment. Every motive of sound policy must lead the Liberian in the civilized settlements to recognize the claims, the rights, the opportunities which lie within this difference. He needs the friendship of the "bush nigger" far more than that pagan needs his. Caste in the sense of proud discrimination of social difference and the introduction of over-bearing treatment must be avoided. It is suicide to encourage and permit the development of such a feeling.

In the nature of things, constant intermarriage takes place between the Americo-Liberians and the natives. There is more or less prejudice against such connections, but they have taken place ever since the days of the first settlement. They are, for the most part, one-sided, Americo-Liberian men marrying native women. The other relation, namely that of native men with Liberian women, is so rare that it may almost be said not to occur. There is no question that these mixtures should tend to produce a good result, the children inheriting physical strength and fitness to their surroundings beyond that of the Americo-Liberian. There is, however, a danger in such unions; the native woman has all her associations and connections with her own people, and there is a constant tendency for the husband to assume a position of influence among the natives, adopting more or less of their customs, and suffering the relapse of which we hear so often. None the less it is

certain that such mixtures are more than likely to increase in number with the passage of time.

A notable influence upon the native problem may be expected from the Frontier Force. The soldiers for this force are regularly drawn from the tribes of the interior. It is easy to get Boozi Mpesse, and their neighbors in large numbers. They come to Monrovia as almost naked savages, with no knowledge of the outside world, but with strong, well-developed bodies; they are quite amenable to training and quickly make improvement; they have almost the minds of children, and are easily led in either direction; if well treated, they have a real affection for their officers; if they are badly treated, they are morose, dispirited, and dangerous. They love the companionship, the bustle, the music, and the uniforms, and rather quickly submit themselves with fair grace to discipline. They regularly bring their women and their boy slaves with them from their distant homes, and these live together in special houses constructed at the border of the barracks-grounds. As the government not infrequently is in arrears in paying them their wages, there are times when the camp is full of insubordination and bad feeling; at such times there is always danger, unless the officers are tactful, of their becoming mutinous, and demanding payment with a show and threat of force. It is not impossible that some time on such occasions serious results may occur. When the term of enlistment has ended, these soldiers may go back to their towns and villages, carrying with them the effect of the influences, good or bad, to which they have been subjected at the capital. Not a few of them, however, re-enlist for a second, or even a third, term of service. The effect of this training must be very great upon the tribes. It could be made a most important influence for raising the condition of the whole interior; there is no more certain way by which the people of the remoter tribes may come to know about the Government.

We have read dreadful accounts of the relapse of civilized natives to their old form of life. Bright boys taken from the interior towns and villages are trained in mission schools, or even sent to the United States, and given a fairly liberal education. They have become nominal Christians; they have learned English and can read and write; they wear white men's dress and seem to have adopted white men's ways; much is expected of them when they return to their native country in the way of mission effort with their people. After they return, all changes; their Christianity takes flight; having no one but their own people with whom to converse, they return to the native dialect; as the European dress wears out, they soon possess a nondescript wardrobe; instead of leading their people in the ways of industry, they sit down at ease; gradually they resume natural relations with their people and play the part of advisers to the chiefs, or even themselves become petty chiefs; of them it is frequently claimed that they have all the vices of Christian and pagan and none of the virtues of either. There is more or less of reality in such accounts. But it is not true, even in these cases, that nothing has been gained. One must not expect rare individuals to produce rapid results in a great mass of population. It is doubtful whether the result is harmful. The importance, however, of impressing upon all children, who are taken into mission schools, their relation to the government, their duty to it, and the advantage of co-operation with it, should be profoundly emphasized; in such schools loyalty is as important a subject for inculcation as religion, reading, and industry. If as much care were taken to instruct the mission child in his duties as a citizen, as is taken in other directions, every one of these persons on their return to the bush would be a genuinely helpful and elevating influence. It is also true that Americo-Liberians occasionally take to the bush. Sometimes they are persons who have had difficulties in the settlements and find

it convenient to change location; sometimes they are men who have married native women and find it easier and more profitable to turn their attention toward the natives; sometimes they are traders who spend about one-half their time in settlements and the other half in going from town to town to secure products; sometimes they are shiftless vagabonds merely drifting from place to place in order to avoid labor. Such Liberians among the natives may be found everywhere. They are usually of little value to those among whom they live. But the fact that there are such should not be over-emphasized. It is by no means true that the Americo-Liberians as a whole tend to throw off civilization and to become degenerate.

From this native mass much that has been helpful to the nation has already been secured. Work among them has always been accompanied by encouraging results. Two-thirds of the communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church are natives; they show as true a character, as keen a mind, as high ideals, often more vigor, than the Americo-Liberians in the same churches. Wherever the native is given the same just chance as his Liberian brother, he gives an immediate response. At the Girls' School in Bromley, and among the boys at Clay-Ashland, natives and Liberians do the same work and offer the same promise; so in the College of West Africa the Kru boys are every whit as good as the Liberians. The number of natives who are at present occupying positions of consequence in the Republic is encouraging. The Secretary of the Department of Education, Dr. Payne, is a Bassa; Mr. Massaquoi, a Vai, holds the chief clerkship in the Department of the Interior; Senator Harris is the son of a native, Bassa, mother; Mr. Karnga, member of the House of Representatives, is a son of a recaptured African—a Kongo; Dr. Anthony, a Bassa, is Professor of Mathematics in Liberia College; there are numbers of Grebo clergymen of prominence and success within

the Protestant Episcopal Church—as McKrae, who is pastor of the flourishing Kru Chapel at Monrovia, and Russell, who is pastor of the Liberian Church at Grand Bassa.

The natives, after all, are the chief asset of the nation. Only by their co-operation can aggression and pressure from outside be resisted; carefully developed and wisely utilized, they must and will be the defense and strength of the Liberian nation. Even if immigration on an enormous scale, a thing not to be expected, should take place, the native population will never be submerged; it will continue to maintain supremacy in numbers.

For support given to education, Liberia holds the first place among West African administrations. Sierra Leone, with a revenue six times greater than Liberia, spends only one-fifth of the sum devoted by our State to the cause of public instruction.—A. BARCLAY.

EDUCATION.

The importance of education was recognized by the "fathers." The quotation of President Roberts which we have given above voiced the feelings of the more thoughtful of the settlers. Yet it must be admitted that the educational situation is far from perfect. There is a recently established Department of Education, the Secretary of which holds a Cabinet position. In 1912 Dr. Payne had under his direction ninety-one public schools in different parts of the Republic. Most of these schools were housed in buildings totally unsuited to their purpose; they were small, badly built, and unsupplied with even the barest equipment. There are no book-stores in Liberia, and there is a notable lack of suitable textbooks for the children's use; there are few blackboards and those of poor quality; the desks, seats, and other furniture are conspicuous either for their absence or poor quality. Teachers are frequently badly prepared; they not infrequently neglect their duties; the number of days of teaching is uncertain—as often the teachers will be occupied with other work than that to which they are supposed to devote their time and attention. Salaries are very low and badly paid. Mr. Deputie, once Superintendent of Education, in his report of 1905, appealing to the legislature, said: "Lend a hand by your official acts that will tend to ameliorate the condition of the teachers in the public schools, that they may receive

a just recompense of reward. Some of these teachers, after serving faithfully during the quarter, receive only ten shillings on their bills, while many others of them receive not a shilling." In 1910 Mr. Edwin Barclay was General Superintendent of the Schools. He made a careful study of the situation and in his report presents interesting statistics and facts with reference to the condition. He made a series of thoughtful recommendations for the future, and drew up an entire scheme of proposed legislation. Much of that which he suggested has been approved and theoretically put in practice. In regard to the matter of teachers' salaries, he makes an interesting statement in tabulated form, comparing the average salaries of teachers with those of clerks in the department of the Government and in mercantile establishments. He shows us that the average salary of public school teachers at that time was \$143.95 per year; that this salary was stationary and without increment of any kind. At that same time, clerks in government departments received an average salary of \$321.29 per year with definite chance of promotion and a career before them. Clerks in mercantile establishments did even better, receiving an average annual salary of \$365.90 a year with contingent increment annually of from twenty to fifty per cent on net profits. It is hardly strange under the circumstances that good teachers are rare and that promising young men should look to other fields than that of teaching. Three grades of teachers are recognized in the public schools; all teachers are required to pass an examination and receive certificates; second grade teachers receive thirty dollars per year more than third grade teachers, and teachers of first grade, thirty dollars more than those of second grade. Public schools are subject to the inspection of a local school committee which "consists of three good, honest, substantial citizens of the locality, having an interest in education. Sex ought not to be a barrier. They need not be highly educated, but should be able

to read and write intelligently and earnest friends of education." Membership in the committee is purely honorary, no fee accompanying the appointment. The members of the committee are to take an annual census of children of school age and to see that they attend school; they are to keep tab on the teacher and report him if he be guilty of immoral conduct or fails to advance his school. Each county has a school Commissioner whose business it is to examine candidates for teaching, to employ and direct teachers, to approve bills of salary, to visit each school in his district without announcement at least once a quarter, to remove and replace teachers, to make reports to the General Superintendent, to supply text-books, and hold annual teachers' meetings in order to develop greater ability on the part of the instructors. Compulsory education is recognized in the Republic; as, however, many young people are obliged to assist in the support of the families to which they belong, night schools are provided for those who may be working during the hours of the day. The public schools are practically confined to the Americo-Liberian settlements. The latest definite statistics in regard to the number of children in attendance on the public schools are those of 1910. At that time 1782 children were in the schools; of these 1225 were civilized, 557 uncivilized, i. e., native; the distribution according to counties was as follows: In Grand Bassa County, 407; in Maryland County, 148; in Montserrado County, 947; in Sinoe County, 280. The instillation of patriotism into the young mind is regarded as a matter of importance, and it is required that the flag of the Republic shall be daily displayed at every school-house or place where public school is held; and "the hoisting and striking of colors at the daily opening and close of school session shall be attended with such ceremonies as shall tend to instill into the minds of the pupils a respect and veneration for the flag and a knowledge of the principle for which it stands."

The public schools, however, are probably less numerous, and certainly reach fewer scholars than the various mission schools conducted by the different denominations. At the time that Mr. Barclay made his report he claimed but sixty-five public schools to ninety mission schools. While the public schools reached 1782 schools, the mission schools had an attendance of 3270 children.

DENOMINATION	Schools	Pupils	Teachers
Methodist Episcopal	35	1,300	55
Baptist	1	25	1
Lutheran	7	275	13
Protestant Episcopal	47	1,670	55
Total	90	3,270	124

These mission schools very largely reach a native population; it is true that some Liberians attend them, but the larger number in the attendance is from native families; all the schools located in native towns are, probably, under mission guidance. In some respects these schools are distinctly superior to the public schools of the Republic. Their teachers, with higher salaries, devote themselves with more energy to their work; text-books are supplied and the equipment for school work is better; the buildings, too, both in construction, lighting, and adaptation to their work, are better. A glance at the table shows that the Protestant Episcopal Church is in the lead. The work reported by Bishop Ferguson in his last annual report is most encouraging. Two schools at Cape Mount, one for boys and one for girls, care for both boarding and day students; at Monrovia the parish school is attended by 157 Kru children; the Girls' School at Bromley, with 78 boarding pupils, is flourishing; at Clay-Ashland the new Alexander Crummell Hall was nearing completion, and the young men and boys there were full of enthusiasm; in Grand Bassa County parish day schools were conducted at Edina, Upper Buchanan, and Lower Buchanan; at Tobakoni work for Kru

boys was conducted at a boarding school which had recently extended its work to the neighboring village of Nito; in Sinoe County both a parish day school and a boarding school were maintained; in Maryland County, where the work of this mission culminates, there is Cuttington Collegiate and Divinity School with 121 pupils, the Orphan Asylum and Girls' School, St. Mark's Parish School, the boarding school at Mount Vaughn, and thirteen boarding and day schools at other places. We have no adequate information regarding the excellent work of the Methodist schools and those of other denominations. Their work is, however, actively conducted. The Lutherans, from their centre at Muhlenburg, make the central idea of their mission effort the educational work; they emphasize, too, the manual phase of education and encourage the development of arts, industries, and agriculture.

Two of the mission schools demand special mention, as they represent the highest development of educational work in the Republic. These are: *Epiphany Hall*, Cuttington, four and a half miles from Cape Palmas, and the *College of West Africa*, located at Monrovia.

The work at Cuttington began in 1889, when the Cuttington Collegiate and Divinity School was founded under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church. One of the basic principles in Maryland since its foundation has been the development of agriculture. The efforts of the founders of the colony were exerted against trade and in favor of production. This desirable ideal has never been lost. At *Epiphany Hall* an important part of the school's plan is that students should be taught to work: a coffee plantation and a farm are connected with the school, and four hours a day of practical agriculture and horticulture are required; connected with this school also is a printing establishment at Harper, the work of which is done by students of the school. So far as the literary work is concerned, the school is

divided into three departments—preparatory, higher, and theological. The work in the preparatory school covers four years; it is primarily arranged with native needs in mind, but other students are admitted. The work of the higher school consists of a two years' advanced course, two years of collegiate work, a year's course for a certificate of proficiency in general education, and a normal course. The work of the theological school covers three years, and is arranged with reference to preparation for the ministry.

The *College of West Africa* is located at Monrovia, and is under the direction of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The building is an ugly structure of brick which has served its purpose for a long time and which should soon be replaced by a new and better building. It is, however, a hive of industry; it is crowded with boys and girls who are earnestly desiring an education. A great number of the students live in the building as boarders; many also come from the town of Monrovia and from "Krutown." The teachers are mostly American negroes who have been trained in our southern schools. The courses offered cover a considerable range.

The work in this institution began in 1839 under Jabez A. Burton, assisted by Mrs. Anne Wilkins and Mrs. Eunice Moore. The present building was erected in 1849 at an expense of \$10,000. The work of the school is divided among seven departments. The primary school covers three years; the grammar school three years; the high school two years. There is a normal course for the preparation of teachers; in the college preparatory and the college departments the classics are taught. In the biblical department the design is to prepare religious workers. There is an industrial department in which instruction is given in carpentry, tin-smithing, shoe-making, black-smithing, and printing; in this department girls receive instruction in home-training. The printing establishment demands particular notice; almost all the unofficial printing of the Republic, outside of

the county of Maryland, is done upon the press of the College of West Africa. Many creditable pieces of workmanship have been put out by this institution and the mission paper, *Liberia and West Africa*, is printed here. The college conducts night schools for those who can not attend during the daytime. Regular charges are made for tuition, textbooks, and—to those students who board in the institution—for room, board, and washing. These charges are extremely modest and can be rather easily met; through the opportunities connected with the industrial department students who wish to earn their education can largely do so. With the exception of printing, the work of the industrial school is conducted outside of the city of Monrovia.

We have already stated that the mission schools are better equipped and more attractive than the public schools. The work of such schools is desirable and should be encouraged and developed. At the same time it is true that in such schools exists an element of possible danger. This is brought out by Mr. Barclay in his report. He says: "As regards the mission schools, if we observe attentively the final efforts of their endeavors, we will discover that, when they have operated exclusively in civilized centers, they have been a great public service and in many cases have supplied the want of a public school system. But, on the other hand, where the scope of their operations has extended beyond these centers, to districts wholly or mainly uncivilized, their care has been to 'save souls' rather than to create citizens or to develop proper ideals of citizenship. Their tendency is toward denationalization. Here, then, is where they come in conflict, unconsciously perhaps, with the imperative policy of the government. Pupils coming to attend the mission schools, for however short a period, leave with a feeling of antagonism to constituted authority, or at best, with no sentiments of congeniality with the civilized element either in aspirations or ideals. On returning to their homes,

they develop into pernicious and vehement demagogues. Fomenting the tribal spirit in opposition to the national ideal, they frequently lead their people to foolish and irrational measures, and stir up misunderstanding and discord between them and the Government. They pose as arbiters between these two parties to their own profit, and, finally, when discovered, are discredited by both. The net result of this missionary activity, unsupervised and unregulated, is to create an element of discord in the State, which it becomes imperative to stamp out by force and at great expense to the public. These facts of course do not apply universally; but they are sufficiently general to attract attention and to call for amelioration of the condition which they point out as existing. It should not be thought that these remarks are intended or designed to discredit absolutely all missionary enterprises. But what I do desire to point out is that some supervision should be exercised over these schools by the Government. Under the direction of unscrupulous and unsympathetic people, they may be made powerful agencies of disintegration in the State. It must not be overlooked that the foreign missionary does not feel himself called upon to help direct in the process of nation-building. His aspirations are after spreading his own form of superstition and toward the realization of his particular moral Utopia."

Again he says: ". . . all private affairs, when they impinge on the domain of public affairs, or assume a quasi-public character, must become the subject of regulation by public authority. So far as *internal administration* goes, the State has, and can claim, no concern so long as such administration squares with legality. But public authority must step in when these schools become potent factors in public economy. We have been led, therefore, to the suggestion that such schools as are established by foreign and domestic mission societies in the Republic, should conform, in their primary grades especially,

to the requirements of law for the public schools, and that the Department of Public Instruction should have the right to inspect these schools in order to find out if the conditions are being kept. To secure this, every school, before beginning operations, should be registered at the Department of Public Instruction, and licensed to this end. Where the legal requirements have not been kept, the Board of Education, or other educational authority, should have the power of summarily closing said school. These regulations are necessary when we consider the peculiar conditions which confront us in the administration of the country."

Again he says: "While the State must in great measure depend upon the public spirit and missionary zeal of individual citizens in fomenting and creating the national spirit, it is, *a priori*, the duty of the people in their collective capacity to provide capital means to this end. If the country is to be utilized, if we are to develop into a strong nation, capable of demanding universal respect, and worthy of taking that leading place among African states and the African civilization, which is our destiny, the preoccupation of government for the next two or three generations must be in the direction of developing a specific type of citizens, animated by an identical spirit, filled with an unbounded faith in their destiny, and possessed and inspired by the same ideals. As this is to be effected through the schools, we can not escape the impressions: (a) That some central authority of the State *must* supervise *all* educational operations in the country; (b) that, if mission schools and private corporate and non-corporate institutions be allowed, they must operate subject to limitations imposed by law as regards the course of study, the general character of instruction, and the special object to be obtained, especially in the primary grades. In other words, they must assist in developing the civic instincts of the pupils; (c)

that a uniform system of training must be rigidly, consciously, and universally enforced."

The matter suggested by these quotations is really of considerable importance. The central thought of them is surely sound; all mission schools, while entirely free to teach religion according to their own tenets, should consult together and have a uniform system of secular instruction which should be kept quite separate from the religious teaching; this should be of the same character and have the same end as the teaching offered in the public schools; the mission schools should work in harmony with the public schools and should recognize the Superintendent of Education; they should heartily co-operate with him toward the production of good citizens and the development of a feeling of respect and loyalty to the national government. It is true that some of them have a standard which is not reached by the public schools; such should not, of course, reduce their standard, but should serve as a friendly example to the Government of what is reasonably expected of schools of their grade. The proper treatment of this matter calls for great tact and good spirit on both sides.

We have already called attention to the fact that in Vai and Mandingo towns instruction is given to boys in Arabic and in the reading of the Koran. These little village schools are interesting. The boys use smooth boards with handles as slates; these are smeared over with a light colored clay, and passages from the sacred writing are copied in black upon the light surface; the little fellows are constantly drilled in reading these passages aloud and in copying similar passages upon their wooden tablets. Such schools as these form a nucleus which could be utilized in the development of schools for broader instruction. We have already called attention to the fact that the Vai have a phonetic system of their own, developed among themselves. The ability to write and read this phonetic script is rather widely

spread, and when schools come to be established in Vai towns this system might be widely utilized for purposes of education.

Theoretically, and to some degree actually, Liberia College stands at the summit of the Liberian system of education. It has had a checkered history with ups and downs; most observers have been inclined to see and emphasize the downs. In 1848 John Payne, of the Episcopal mission, suggested to Simon Greenleaf, of Boston, that a school of theology should be established in Liberia. Partly as the result of this suggestion, in 1850 there was established in Massachusetts a Board of Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia. In 1851 the Liberian legislature incorporated Liberia College, the outgrowth of the steps already taken, although not in the exact direction suggested by John Payne. In 1857 Ex-President J. J. Roberts was elected first president of Liberia College, and superintended the erection of the building which had been provided for. During the next few years further funds were raised for the purpose of conducting the enterprise, and in 1861 the endowment was vested in a Board of eighteen Trustees. In 1862 Liberia College was opened for work. Since that time it has had a struggling existence, making periodical appeals for financial assistance, receiving donations of more or less magnitude, occasionally putting forth a spurt of momentary vigor, then languishing almost to the point of death; again and again this round of experiences has been run by the institution. It is difficult to secure definite and connected information regarding it; to prepare a fairly complete history would involve considerable labor. It is interesting to notice that, among the expressed purposes of the institution, was the providing of an opportunity for American colored youth to receive an education, as they were then debarred from educational institutions in our country. There were at first three chairs in the institution:—Jurisprudence and International Law, English Literature and Moral

and Mental Philosophy, and the Fulton Chair of Languages; in 1905 the faculty consisted of eight members, including the president. In 1879 there was but a single teacher, who was giving instruction in mathematics (to which chair he was originally appointed) and also in languages. The largest donation at any time received by the College was from Joseph Fulton, of New York, who left \$25,000, the income of which was to support the Fulton professor, who was to be nominated by the New York Colonization Society; the Board of Donations of Boston has had some \$30,000 at interest for the benefit of the institution; Albert Fearing at one time gave \$5000 for library purposes. In addition to these gifts and bequests from and in America the institution has received and does receive some governmental aid; 1000 acres of land in each county have been set apart for its advantage; certain sources of income are theoretically devoted to its maintenance. At one time four scholarships had been established and named; these scholarships were, the Gordon Memorial (in memory of Midshipman Gordon, who died in 1822), the John Payne Scholarship, the Simon Greenleaf Scholarship, and the George Briggs Scholarship. To what degree these scholarships are still productive we do not know. The institution had run down and was threatened with extinction when, in 1898, under the national administration of President W. E. Coleman, it received a new impulse, and in the year 1900 was re-organized. It is unfortunate that the exact status of Liberia College is not more definite; it is neither fish, flesh nor fowl; it is at once a private institution with a directorate and management located across the seas, and a part of a system of public education, receiving aid from national funds.

Such is the condition of education in the Republic. It leaves much to be desired. Those who lead public thought are by no means ignorant of its weak features; the national poverty, however, makes it diffi-

cult to develop better things. If the nation is to advance, its education must be greatly improved. This improvement must begin at the very foundation with the primary public schools. These need reform in the matter of buildings, equipment, and teachers' salaries; if good teachers are to be secured, and kept steadily at work to earn their salaries, they must be promptly paid—prompt payment of any employees is a difficult matter in Liberia. There should be a large increase in the number of public schools; there are perhaps as many as are necessary within the civilized settlements, but the native towns are almost without school opportunities, except as these are offered by the missions. There is crying need of the establishment of public schools in native towns. Such should, however, be established only in towns where genuine promises of self-support are given. There are, no doubt, many towns where, if the matter were properly presented, the chiefs would readily build a school-building, order the children to attend school, and support a teacher. Such a teacher should be well acquainted with the native tongue, and the bulk of the instruction should be given in it; to teach elementary branches in a foreign language is poor policy; true, it has been attempted—as on a wide scale in the Philippines, but mental and moral imbecility are likely to be developed by such procedure; English should be taught, but it should be taught as a subject in itself, and the English language should not be used as the medium for conveying *elementary* instruction in fundamental branches; after English has once been learned, it is of course desirable to encourage the reading of English books and the acquisition of general knowledge through such reading. It will probably be suggested that it will be impossible to find teachers acquainted with the native tongues and competent to teach the various branches of primary education; such a difficulty ought not to exist after nearly eighty years of mission schools which have by preference sought to teach and raise

the native population. It will be claimed that such teachers in native towns will be in danger of relapse; there is such danger, but it is far less than might be thought, provided the Department of Public Instruction keeps in constant touch with such teachers in native towns and properly emphasizes to the native chiefs the value of schools and education. When we were in the Bassa country, we found, at a native town quite in the interior, an intelligent black man who spoke English well and who told us that he had been sent out by the Lutheran mission at Muhlenburg to pick up and bring in native boys for instruction at that famous school; he told us at that time, that the chief of the village where we were, together with the leading men, were very anxious that a local school should be established in their midst, and promised land, a building, and attendance. It would be easy if the matter were handled wisely, to establish at once, in twenty native towns, carefully selected among the different tribes, twenty local schools which would be supported with considerable enthusiasm by the communities in which they were situated. If the Government could at once equip these twenty schools with good teachers who had graduated from the mission schools, there would spring up a popular demand throughout the whole interior for the establishment of village schools; it would be difficult to satisfy the demand, but from the number of villages asking for the establishment of schools, a reasonable number of the best might be selected, and the work would grow. There would actually be little expense in such development; if it is to be successful, and if it is worth while, it should originate largely with the towns themselves, and every school should be practically self-supporting. For a time of course there would be on the part of chiefs a demand for some sort of bribe or "dash"; this ought to be refused in every case.

To illustrate exactly what is meant, we quote a sample of the kind of document which mission schools

at one time regularly drew up with the idea of getting children into school. It is presented in Hoyt's *Land of Hope*:—"Articles of agreement between Tweh, King of Dena, his head men and people, and the Methodist Episcopal Mission:

Art. 1. The mission school is to have at all times at least ten boys; and more if they should be wanted. Girls at all times are desirable.

Art. 2. The children of the school are at all times to be under the entire control of Mr. Philip Gross and his successors in the teaching and government of this station, without interruption on the part of their parents or guardians until the time for which they are put in the mission school shall have expired.

Art. 3. As good substantial buildings may soon be required for teachers to reside in, and more land will be constantly wanted for manual labor purposes, the King, his head men and people, also agree to protect the missionaries in occupying and using it, in the manner they may think proper, without responsibility to any one beyond themselves. The King, etc., agree to protect them in their persons and property from either abuse or violence, and if anything is stolen from them, the King, his head men and people, promise to see it returned or paid for.

Art. 4. As long as the authorities of Dena continue to fulfill this agreement, by giving the children for school instruction, and protecting the mission and mission-premises from intrusion and disturbance, the mission will give them annually, (about Christmas) one piece of blue baft, two small kegs of powder, ten bars of tobacco, ten bars of pipes, and fifty gun-flints; with the understanding, that this being done, they are not to be teased for dash to any one.

Art. 5. But if the King and his head men fail to fulfill the conditions of the above agreement, then

they will be under no obligations as a mission to give the above named articles.

FRANCIS BURNS, *Preacher in Charge.*

PHILIP GROSS,	}	TWEH, his * mark,
NEY (his * mark),		TOBOTO, his * mark,
JOHN BANKS,		TWABO, his * mark,
Witnesses.		TWAAH, his * mark,
		ERO-BAWH, his * mark,
		NYWAH-WAH, his * mark,

Of course this document is many years old. No doubt, however, the bad policy of paying chiefs for permission to establish schools in towns and for children who shall receive instruction is continued by the mission schools. Certainly, however, if the government develop its own plans of dealing with native chiefs for the encouragement of trade, it will be easy to do away with this idea of compensation for the tolerance of schools. Such native village schools as we have recommended should not attempt to do more than teach the elements of education; they should correspond to the primary schools in the system of public education for the nation; every teacher in charge of such schools should be expected to encourage boys and girls of exceptional promise and diligence, who do well in the village schools, to go up to the local "feeder".

When we were in Monrovia, we were asked more than once whether it was best to remove Liberia College into the interior. It is the opinion of many that such removal should take place. The answer to the question depends entirely upon what is conceived to be the proper function of Liberia College. If it is to be an institution of higher education, if it is to aim at academic instruction and the development of able men for the filling of public positions, for professional life, for leadership, it would be a great mistake to move it. To remove such an institution into the interior would make it difficult for students from the settlements to attend the institution; if it were

intended to meet the needs of natives, its removal would sound the death knell of its hopes; it could be located in the area of a single tribe only, and located in such an area, it would receive the patronage of but a single tribe. Recognizing the fact that the natives are actually tribesmen, if schools of higher grade than primary village schools are to be developed, with reference to them, there should be at least one school of higher instruction in every tribal area; such schools should be of a grade corresponding to our secondary or grammar schools. It is unlikely that any one will, for many years, think of the establishment of such higher schools in numbers sufficient for each tribal area to have one; while, theoretically the idea may be attractive, practically it is out of question. It would be entirely possible, however, for four good county schools of grammar grade to be established—one in each county; these should be in the country, not in the settlements. They should be open to both natives and Liberians, but it is to be supposed that their attendance would be largely, overwhelmingly indeed, native. These county schools should be thoroughly practical—they should combine book-work and manual-training; they should give instruction in trades and agriculture. They should be as well equipped and as well managed as the resources of the Republic will allow. They should be thorough and earnest, and should not attempt to undertake more than the exact work here suggested; they should be secondary—grammar—schools, and a part of their aim should be to fully acquaint every student attending them with the work and opportunities of the Higher Agricultural School, outside Monrovia, and Liberia College at the capital. The teachers should not attempt to force large numbers of their students to look for higher education, but should make them thoroughly acquainted with the fact that opportunities may be found in the Republic for it; the very few students of *real promise*, who desire education of higher grade, the teachers should encourage

and direct toward the Higher Agricultural School and Liberia College; certainly the larger number of the boys should be directed toward the former—a select few of special promise in the direction of leadership, toward the latter.

For the general uplift, there is no question that the most important element in this scheme of education must be the Higher Agricultural School. It should be situated upon an experimental farm; it should be supplied with sufficient suitable buildings; it should combine literary and manual instruction. It should carry boys far enough to infuse them with ambition and vigor for an agricultural career. It should teach the methods demanded by the peculiar surroundings. Tropical agriculture in any country is still in its beginnings; scientific agriculture in Liberia is as yet non-existent; as rapidly as possible, the school should, through investigation and experiment, learn what is necessary for the locality. It will start with the benefit of blind experiments conducted through a period of almost a hundred years; it should, by twenty years of well-directed effort, work out the fundamental principles of successful agriculture. In such a school boys should be taught that hand labor is respectable and necessary; they should be taught equally how to plan, develop, and direct an enterprise. Coffee was at one time an important article of shipment; Liberian coffee had an excellent reputation throughout the world and commanded good prices; there were many creditable plantations which brought in good returns to their proprietors. Why has Liberian coffee ceased to pay? It is true that it has had to meet keen competition from countries where labor was plenty and under good control; it has had to meet in open market products which had been raised through subsidies paid by nations far wealthier; still, the chief reason why Liberian coffee no longer has the vogue which it once had is because it was badly handled, badly packed, and badly shipped. In the higher agricul-

tural school one should be taught not only how to establish coffee plantations, but how to properly treat, prepare, and ship the produce. There was a time when many fields were planted with sugar-cane; there were many little local mills where the cane was crushed and molasses and sugar made; to-day it may be said that there is no cane industry in the Republic. Has the demand for sugar ceased? Has the soil lost the capacity of growing cane? Is not the decline in this industry due to time-losing, crude, and imperfect methods of production? Liberia seems well adapted to various domestic animals. Goats and sheep—the latter covered with hair, not wool—are seen on the streets of the national capital; when one gets back into the interior, cattle are found in native towns and in the district about Cape Palmas cattle are met with in the coast settlements. Yet fresh meat is difficult to secure in Monrovia; why? In the Higher Agricultural School definite investigation should be made of all native plant and animal possibilities; there are no doubt many forms of plant life which could be improved under proper cultivation and made to yield desirable materials for commerce or for national use; it is quite possible that some of the native animals could be utilized if kept and bred; it is certain that harmful animals can be controlled or totally destroyed. The experimental station in connection with the agricultural school should deal with all these matters. Of plants and animals which flourish in our own and other countries, some prosper and succeed on the west coast of Africa—others fail; many experiments have already been made in introducing plants and animals from the outside world into Liberia; much, however, still remains to be done in studying the possibilities. It is time that the experiments in this direction were wisely made by competent and educated investigators and that the period of blind and wasteful experimentation cease.

Liberia College, however, should remain at the capital city. It must be strengthened and developed.

It should be a college, and if at present below grade—and it is below grade—it should be gradually worked up to a high standard. The nation will always need a higher institution of liberal culture; there is as much reason why there should be a genuine college in the black Republic, as there was why there should be a Harvard College in Massachusetts at the date of its foundation; in fact, there is more need of a college for Liberia than there was in Massachusetts for Harvard—Liberia has more serious and broader problems to deal with than the old colony of Massachusetts; she is an independent nation; she must have men competent by training to control the “ship of state” and to deal with the representatives of all the civilized nations on the globe.

One can easily understand, and to a degree sympathize with, the statement of Thomas in his little book upon West Africa, published a half century ago. He wrote shortly after the college was established. He says: “I regret to say that a college has been lately established in Liberia, the presidency of which has been conferred on President Roberts. I regret it, because it will involve an outlay that might be better used for common schools. It will send out, for years at least, men imperfectly learned, with the idea that they are scholars, and create a false standard of education. The present state of society has no demand for such a thing, the high schools already in operation being sufficient to supply teachers and professional men, and these are sufficiently patronized. A couple of manual labor schools somewhere in the interior would be vastly more useful. These things—academies dubbed colleges—are getting to be an evil among us in the states, and we are sorry to see our ebony off-shoot copying any of our defects.” We are all familiar with such criticisms and this line of argument, and of course they contain a germ of truth. But every young and developing community must have higher education, and we have indicated why the necessity in Liberia is

urgent. From her population must come presidents, congressmen, cabinet officers of ability, diplomatic and political officials, and nothing below a college can produce the desirable supply.

In contrast to the statement of Mr. Thomas, we may quote two passages from Dr. Blyden—himself a negro, a Liberian, an official in Liberia College. At the dedication of the Institution, he said: "Why, then, should not Liberia, after forty years' existence, having secured the confidence and respect of the aboriginal tribes, enjoy the means of superior education? The name *College* applied to this institution may seem ambitious; but it is not too early in our history to aim at such institutions. Of course we cannot expect that it will at once fulfill all the conditions of colleges in advanced countries, but it may come in time, as many American colleges have done, to grow into an institution of respectability and extensive usefulness." Again, in the same address, he says: "Every country has its peculiar and particular characteristics. So has Liberia. From this fact, it has often been argued, that we need a peculiar kind of education; not so much colleges and high schools as other means which are more immediately and obviously connected with our progress. But to this we reply, 'If we are a part of the human family, we have the same intellectual needs that other people have, and they must be supplied by the same means.' It shows a painful ignorance of history, to consider the present state of things in Liberia as new and unprecedented in such a sense as to render dispensable those more important and fundamental means of improvement, which other countries have enjoyed. Mind is everywhere the same; and everywhere it receives character and formation from the same elemental principles. If it has been properly formed and has received a substantial character, it will work out its own calling, solve its own problems, achieve its own destiny."

In other words, it is the old question between Tus-

kegee and Atlanta. In any broad and wise view both are equally essential.

Liberia College and the Higher Agricultural School will do more to develop a national spirit among the natives of the interior than any other single agency. From the native village schools boys will go out to the county "feeder"; there their ambition is stimulated; they come into contact with boys of other tribes; acquaintance and a generous and proper rivalry develops between them; each boy will feel that the credit and reputation of his people rests in him—he will feel that he is not inferior—he will strive to hold his own in legitimate fields of rivalry; from the county "feeder" the brightest, most ambitious, and best of the scholars will go up to the College or Agricultural School, both of which are national. There, in contact with the selected and best from every part of the Republic, from Liberians and natives alike, the native boys will come to know the national spirit; they will learn what Liberia means, they will comprehend its plans and hopes; they will be prepared to assist in its development and to protect its rights.

We have said that Liberia College would be national; it can not and ought not to be hampered by denominational or even by religious demands; it would be better if the College were absolutely under the control of the national government; the double control works badly. It is not absolutely essential that such should be the case; if the American Board, or Boards, interested in it would wake up to the idea of the great opportunity within their hands, they would be willing to co-operate heartily with the local authorities to develop a really great institution. The difficulty of distance of course would ever interfere with prompt and harmonious action; ignorance of local conditions and of the inherent difficulties is another bar to effective and prompt co-operation. If the double control of the Institution is to continue, there should be a carefully worked out agreement between the two governing bodies which should leave

very considerable power with the resident authority to deal with serious problems as they may arise. If the double control must continue, it is cryingly necessary that more vigorous and liberal assistance should be rendered. To put the College into proper condition, and develop its field of action, needs money, in considerable quantity, much more than the government would be warranted in supplying for some time to come. There are various things in connection with the conduct of the College which are bad and need re-adjustment. Thus, there is a vicious system of student assistance, which undoubtedly works more harm than benefit; attendance at the College is stimulated by cash payments to students, for which apparently no return service is rendered; any such mode of assistance should be completely stopped. It is better that the College should have a half dozen students who are attending because they wish to gain an education, than that its halls should be filled with idlers who come simply because they receive pay during their attendance. For every penny given to any student, actual service, preferably hand-labor, should be demanded. This is particularly important when we remember the general attitude towards the whole subject of working with the hands.

The presidency of the College has always been, and still is, a problem. The president should not be an autocrat, beyond control and irresponsible, and he should be absolutely fitted for his high post. On account of the uncertain status of the institution, it is possible for its president to do what he pleases without check or hindrance. When it suits his own convenience, he takes refuge behind the fact that it is a chartered institution, responsible to a foreign board of managers to whom alone he owes allegiance; he may thus refuse to recognize the Superintendent of Public Instruction and to conduct the financial affairs of the Institution as if he were without responsibility to the government from which, however, the school receives financial aid. Again, this high position has

seemed, sometimes in the past, to be merely a political football. When a man has served a term of office, when he has been defeated in an election, when for a moment he is without a job, he may become the president of Liberia College. This is all wrong. That presidency should be a position demanding a man's full time, and filling his whole horizon; it should be a position to which he willingly devotes a lifetime, and through which he may justly hope to gain a lasting reputation. It is true that great names in Liberia's history have been associated with it; Roberts, Gibson, Blyden, Barclay, Dossen, and others have occupied it with credit to themselves, and no doubt with advantage to the school; but the position should be a position for men without *other* ambitions, men not in politics. Perhaps it is necessary at this stage to import a head for the institution? If so, it is not for lack of competent Liberians already in the Republic—but because there is no competent man there but what has other ambitions.

Here we believe is an actual opportunity for wise American philanthropy to exercise itself. Vast gifts of money could be properly employed in these two institutions of higher learning—the Higher Agricultural School and Liberia College. The one will have to be founded and developed from foundation up; the other needs development, re-organization, and continuous and wisely exercised interest and sympathy. Suitable but flexible restrictions should justly be imposed in connection with any gift, but the future ought not to be bound too tightly. The absolutely different character of the two institutions should be recognized and emphasized. If both were energized with gifts from our country, it would be just that both should be headed by American presidents. If so, Tuskegee might supply the president for the Higher Agricultural School, Atlanta that for Liberia College. In any event, only the best men that the institutions could furnish should be sent; they should be men of ideals, ideas, and devotion; they should be

teachable men, who would recognize that much of good already exists in the Republic, and who would aim to utilize everything helpful and hopeful which is already there; they should be men who will co-operate, rather than men who will eradicate; they must be wise men; theirs will be no easy task; and they should realize that it is frequently best to "make haste slowly"—if only progress is made surely.

"I am an African, and in this country, however unexceptional my conduct, and respectable my character, I can not receive the credit due to either. I wish to go to a country where I should be estimated by my merit, not by my complexion, and I feel bound to labor for my suffering race."—LOTT CAREY.

"There never has been an hour or a minute; no, not even when the balls were flying around my head at Crown Hill, when I could wish myself in America."—LOTT CAREY.

IMMIGRATION.

The original settlers in Liberia were for the most part aided in their immigration by the American Colonization Society. The whole business of shipment, transportation, and reception soon became quite thoroughly systematized. Those who had funds of their own made use of these in getting to the "Land of Promise" and settling; but many were quite without resources. Such were sent out passage free by the Society; on arriving at Liberia, they were transferred to "receptacles"—houses especially constructed for the purpose,—where, for six months, they were provided with board and medical attendance. During these six months the immigrants usually passed through the acclimating fever, and were sufficiently restored to begin the serious task of establishing themselves in their new homes. To each adult person a piece of land was given, either in the town or country; the Society had already supplied an outfit for farming and housekeeping purposes. With land assigned and outfit ready, the newcomer proceeded to adjust himself as well as possible to his new surroundings. In the very nature of things, many of the early settlers were undesirables; it is true that much was made of the care with which they were selected before they were shipped to Africa; such claims, however, deserve little more belief than

might have been expected under the circumstances. It was not strange that many weak, undesirable, even vicious, individuals were sent; the remarkable fact is that the mass was as good as it actually was. While much allowance must be made for partisanship, and the desire to make a good showing, there is remarkable uniformity in the reports concerning the decency, neatness, and progressive character of the settlers. Among the newcomers there were indeed a number of exceptional men, men who, in any time or place, would be recognized as superior; they were men of ability who, in the old home, had felt themselves subject to the most unjust discrimination; they had chafed under the disadvantages and inequality of their situations; they felt that in Liberia there was indeed a chance for black men. Such were Lott Carey, Elijah Johnson, Hilary Teague, Amos Her-ring, and others. The new colony owed much to the presence of a few such men. It has always been so, it will always be so; there is *no* community where the number of leaders is large; there is *no* community where the rank and file are honest, respectable, ambitious, and progressive. It is unreasonable to expect in Liberia what we could not find in any civilized land of white men. An interesting fact regarding Liberia is that the supply of leaders has never failed. The "fathers" died; the sons have followed; the first settlers have gone to their reward; new settlers with the qualifications of leadership have always come. When the colony gave place to the Republic, it had leaders like Roberts, Hilary Johnson, and Stephen A. Benson. To-day there are, all things considered, a remarkable number of men of ability; the little land with Arthur Barclay, Daniel E. Howard, J. J. Dossen, F. E. R. Johnson, T. McCants Stewart, Bishop Ferguson,—and plenty more—is not badly equipped for grappling with national problems.

In the early days every one had to suffer the acclimating fever; many died. Such, however, has

been the experience in the settlement of all new countries, even outside the tropics. Our own pilgrim fathers lost severely in taking possession of New England; mastery of the Mississippi Valley was achieved only at a frightful loss in life; to the outsider, who only reads the death list, Liberian settlement seems horrible; but, to the one who knows the price eternally paid for colonization, it appears less bad. After passing through the fever, and settling down to work, the question of success was one for each man to settle for himself. The two opportunities were trade and agriculture. We have seen repeatedly that, on the whole, trade had the greater attractiveness. Still, numbers went to farming and the development of plantations. Opportunity was really large and success was not infrequent. The number of early settlers who promptly secured comfort, and even modest wealth, was great.

If there is to be immigration on any considerable scale, there must be easy communication between the United States and Liberia. The original settlers were sent when opportunity offered; sometimes in private sailing vessels, sometimes in government ships. There has been very little direct sailing between the two countries since our Civil War. For a long time it was necessary for passengers who desired to go from the United States to Liberia, to go first to Liverpool, Hamburg, Rotterdam, or Antwerp, and from there to take a steamer for the West Coast; such an arrangement of course involved considerable expense and much loss of time. There have been efforts at various times to establish direct lines of communication. Thus, in 1838, Judge Wilkinson submitted a project. He recommended that a vessel should be purchased and sold to such free persons of color as would agree to man her with colored seamen, and navigate her as a regular packet between Liberia and the United States. Regular passenger rates would be paid to the conductors of this enterprise for the conveyance of emigrants sent out by the Society. The

plan was approved and the money promptly raised; \$3000 was subscribed by the New York Colonization Society, \$1000 by the New Jersey Colonization Society, and \$400 by individuals. Judge Wilkinson, at once, on his own responsibility, purchased the *Saluda* for \$6000; she was a vessel of 384 tons; a fast sailer; in good order; she had passenger accommodations for 150 persons.

A few years later, in 1846, a joint-stock trading company was established by the Maryland Colonization Society under the name of the Chesapeake and Liberian Trading Co. It was to maintain a line of packets for taking out emigrants and bringing in produce; it was expected that the colonists would invest in the shares; \$20,000 was considered necessary for the enterprise, and there was considerable difficulty in raising it, only \$16,000 having been subscribed when the first vessel was completed and ready for sailing. The first voyage took place in the month of December. The *Liberian Packet*, as it was called, made many voyages. It was found necessary to increase the size of the vessel employed, but the whole enterprise received a severe check with the wreck of the *Ralph Cross*. It was in several respects a real success, but there was considerable disappointment felt because of the little interest taken in this line by the colonists themselves; it was hoped that the bulk of the stock would be taken by them—as a matter of fact, only about one-eighth was so purchased. Commodore Foote, in his interesting book, *Africa and the American Flag*, emphasizes the fact that the one great advantage resulting from this line was the ease with which Liberian settlers revisited the United States for short periods, thus forming and keeping up connections with their mother country.

When Thomas was along the West Coast in 1857, direct communication appears to have ceased. He says: "The day is not distant when steam communication will be established between the United States and Liberia, and her exhaustless fields be brought

within fourteen days of our shores. Already the interests of American commerce demand the establishment of such a line, and the general government should extend its aid in such an enterprise, before England and France take the field from us. Already the steam-liners between England and Fernando Po touch at Monrovia, and it is said that arrangements are being made with the company to have them stop at Cape Palmas also. Of the 125,000 gallons of palm oil annually exported from this place, American producers get 50,000. The other exports are pepper and camwood. The revenue of Maryland, the year previous to its annexation to Liberia, was about \$2000, derived from a light duty on certain classes of imports." In 1850 an effort was made in the American Congress to establish and develop a trading line between the two countries. Since that time there have been occasional suggestions looking in this direction; thus, in 1904 a company was established under the name of the *New York and Liberian Steamship Co.* with a capital stock of \$50,000; at about the same time, there was organized the *American and West African Steamship Co.* with head-quarters at New York, a capital of \$600,000, and the apparent endorsement of many of the most prominent colored men of the United States. Many such schemes have been broached, some with brilliant promise; for one reason or another, however, they have failed. There is no question that such a company under conservative management might make a success; the difficulty so far with most of them has been that they have started with too high hopes of large, immediate returns and with insufficient capital. In the long run, good returns might be expected; but there should be anticipated a considerable period during which there would be little, if any, income. Very recently an experimental arrangement has been made by the two great steamship-lines of West Africa to connect New York with Monrovia. At present a vessel sails once every two months from New York for the west coast of

Africa. The first stop is at Las Palmas, Canary Islands; the second, Monrovia; the time from New York to Monrovia is nineteen days; the vessel then proceeds south along the western coast of Africa, returning to Monrovia at the end of about nine weeks; on the return the only point of call is St. Vincent in the Cape Verde Islands. The return voyage occupies eighteen or nineteen days. The vessels making these runs are alternately German and English, of the Woermann and the Elder Dempster Lines.

This arrangement is the best that has been offered for many years. It is relatively easy by means of it for Americans to visit Liberia, and for Liberians to see our country. It is to be hoped that the arrangement will be continued—or even improved; if there is anything in this trade at all, it should not be long before sailings will take place monthly instead of one in two months.

Does Liberia wish immigration from America? Liberians say so, but they usually qualify the statement by saying that it should be "of the right kind". They assert that they will welcome thousands. Presidential messages, congressional action, local resolutions, all express one sentiment; they want Americans, they will welcome them, they will give them every opportunity. This is no doubt true theoretically and in the abstract. As a matter of fact, however, they do not really want American settlers. There are many reasons for this attitude, and all are natural. The new-comer from America is apt to be supercilious and condescending; he is critical and makes odious comparisons; he knows little of the history of the country, has no sympathy with its achievements, sees only its crudities and errors. He is full of grand schemes for his own advancement; he is in Liberia for exploitation; a man of some little prominence in his home community with us, he expects to be a leader in the new surroundings; he wishes to be a new broom, sweeping clean. He would brush away all that already exists, and construct a

totally new edifice; but when one brushes away what already exists, the task before him is worse than that of "making bricks without straw". It is no wonder that the new-comer is promptly looked upon with dislike.

Again, there are not many paying "jobs"; those that exist are already occupied by native sons and old settlers; the coming of a considerable number of new immigrants will not increase the number of these "jobs" in proportion to the influx of population. The new-comers will crowd those who are already located; lack of opportunity, scantness of educational facilities, inability to secure a proper preparation—all things which are in the nature of Liberian conditions and for which the individual can not be held responsible,—give to those already in possession a sense of inferiority and unpreparedness which makes them fear the coming of the outsider who has had a wider training. Whatever they may say to the contrary, however much they may express the desire that highly trained and competent Americans should come to the aid of the Republic, the whole official and governing body will look with natural suspicion and jealousy upon intruders.

It is commonplace to be told by Liberians that there is plenty of work in the Republic for carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, and wheelwrights. This is said so readily that it sounds like a recitation learned for repetition. That there may be room for carpenters and masons is probable; but the need of blacksmiths in a country where there are no real vehicles or horses is less evident; and exactly what a wheelwright would do to fill his time is questionable. There are at present in Liberia almost no manufactories; it will surely be some time before there is need of such. There are in Liberia no opportunities for day labor for American negroes; the "bush nigger" is there and will work for wages which no American colored man could think of receiving if he were able to work at such labor in that country. It has been suggested

to me that thousands of American negroes might be employed in road-building; there is indeed much need for roads; but the work of road-building is likely to continue to fall to the native. Newcomers are almost certain to go into professional life, politics, trade, or agriculture. Professional life and politics are already fairly full—trade and agriculture remain as legitimate opportunities for the newcomer. The American negro who comes to Liberia for trade must have capital, and he must realize that he enters into competition with old established white trading houses as well as with experienced Liberians who know the country and its needs. If the newcomer goes into agriculture, he must expect to make some outlay in securing land, constructing buildings, buying out-fits; curiously enough, even in this field, where it might be supposed that he would meet with little, if any, opposition, he is quite sure to encounter hostility from neighbors. Into whatever field of legitimate enterprise the American immigrant may plan to enter, he should not come to Africa unless he is healthy of body, young, of active mind, fairly educated, and with money for tiding over a period of non-productiveness and opposition more or less frank and open.

Yet many succeed. Conspicuous examples are not wanting. Three recent cases may be considered typical. There is J. H. Green, who came to Liberia from Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1902; a lawyer by trade, he had been interested while still in the United States in the promotion of Liberian immigration; he carried with him into the new region his paper, *The African League*, which is a monthly periodical largely devoted to the encouragement of Liberian immigration. At first in Monrovia, since then at Buchanan, he has continued to print his paper which has the longest continued existence of any genuine newspaper that has been printed in Liberia for many years; he has encountered constant opposition; he is a fighter from way back and has the courage of his

convictions. He has made good. He practices law, has been a local judge, conducts a successful, influential, and outspoken paper, has his printing-house, and conducts a shop for trade. Judge T. McCants Stewart is justly respected as one of the leading men of the Republic. He first went to Liberia thirty years ago, in connection with Liberia College; he stayed but a short time, returning to the United States; while in this country, he published an interesting and useful little book upon Liberia; later he went to Honolulu, Hawaii; returning to America from our newest territory, he closed out his affairs in this land and went again to Liberia; as a newcomer, he necessarily had prejudice and opposition to encounter; he has rooted there, however, and, respected and influential, is now one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court. One of the most interesting men in Liberia to-day is Jeff Faulkner; he is active, enterprising, pushing, indefatigable; he is the only handy, all-around mechanic in Monrovia; he is absolutely one of the most useful men in the Republic; he is depended upon by the government in many a time of need; when "the Lark" goes to the bottom, Jeff Faulkner is the only man to raise her; he has a keen eye for business, and develops every opportunity; he has recently established an ice-factory, and his ice-cream parlor—a novelty in Liberia's capital—is popular. This very useful man, though well appreciated, has literally had to fight his way to success. These men are well established, but they have succeeded only because they were men of ideas, conviction, purpose, determination. Weak men in their positions would have failed. Liberia is no place for weaklings; there is no demand for immigrants who leave America because they have been failures there.

For years Green has been agitating for "the negro city". In the *African League*, in 1903, he carried a page announcement regarding it. From it we quote some extracts: "THE NEGRO CITY to be built in

LIBERIA, AFRICA, BY 1000 AMERICAN NEGROES. LIBERIA CITY will be the name. Foundation to be laid upon the arrival of the great colony early in 1904. Let all be ready and fully prepared for the great corner-stone laying of a great negro town in a HIGH AND HEALTHY PLACE. Stones wanted for the foundation. What kind of stones? Stones in the form of men! Self-sacrificing, vigorous, fearless, strong-hearted, self-supporting, brainy, brawny, God-fearing men? Men fitted for the sub-stratum of the great town in the great country where lynching is not known, and freedom reigns supreme! Where your son may be a beggar or a ruler—at his own election. Come and make him a ruler. . . . A city built in a day. The foundation of this new settlement with the town as the centre, will be laid upon the arrival of the colonists from America upon the ground. . . . A high and beautiful location, too high for the coast fever that is so much dreaded by the one who has heard about it—a location for work in a country where gold and other precious metals abound. . . . This place is especially inviting to the mining negro. The artisans are needed, too, along with the farmers and other workmen, for all these are needed in building up a great republic; only let them bring some capital. This is a great place for merchants. . . . Let all who want to join this colony and want a town lot and a farm in the section, free of charge, write." So far the great negro settlement does not actually exist. The idea has been often ridiculed; but it deserves consideration. At the time in question, Mr. Green made an extended journey in which he claimed to be looking for the best site for his settlement. Such a city, with anywhere from three hundred to one thousand inhabitants, would promise a more speedy and durable success than the trickling in of the same number of immigrants as individuals. There is strength in numbers; a common interest would bind the newcomers to each other; if they really repre-

sented a variety of trades and industries, the community might be sufficient to itself; individual jealousies of old settlers would be reduced to a minimum of harmfulness. There would naturally be, in case such a settlement were established, strong jealousy between it as a whole and longer established communities. Such has always been the case in Liberian history. There has always been feeling between Monrovia, Grand Bassa, Greenville, and Maryland. Such jealousies are natural and unavoidable. The only way in which they can be reduced is by the establishment of so many communities that the distance between them would be small; close contact would develop at least a fair degree of harmony.

There are prominent negroes in our own country who have urged an exodus of black men from the United States. The difficulties of transporting our millions of black men, women, and children to Africa, if they care to go, are so great as to render the scheme actually impracticable. Nor is the difficulty of transportation the only one. The limited range of promising occupations makes it unlikely that great numbers will ever go thither; more than that, pronounced success in the United States,—and pronounced success to-day is by no means rare among our colored population,—will hold the majority of colored people in this country. There is, however, room in Liberia for many thousands of settlers and opportunity for those among them who have no foolish notions and who possess the qualities which Green demands from those whom he invites to come. Bishop Turner and Dr. Heard urge migration on the largest possible scale; Dr. Ernest Lyon who, at the time when the excitement in regard to Liberia City was at its height, represented our government as minister to Liberia, discourages "indiscriminate immigration". His report sent late in 1903 to Secretary Hay, of our Department of State, was a dash to the high hopes of the encouragers of immigration. His letter was called out by the proposed large emigration from the

United States in 1904. He says: "From my knowledge of the conditions of affairs here, I beg to inform you that Liberia is not prepared for indiscriminate immigration in 1904. If immigrants come here who are unable to support themselves for at least six months, they will die from starvation and the rigor of the African climate—there are no houses here, even of a temporary construction, to protect them until they can build for themselves." As might be expected, this report of the resident Minister called forth a vigorous reply from Mr. Green. He closes his answer with an actually able burst of feeling. He says: "As to indiscriminate immigration, it was that that planted the colony of Liberia; it was indiscriminate immigration which gave birth to a Republic to which the Rev. Dr. Lyon might be accredited United States Minister; it was this immigration scheme that gave us a President Roberts, a Benson, a Gardner, a Coleman. It reinforced, succored, perpetuated the Republic in its infancy. It was indiscriminate immigration which gave Liberia the grave and distinguished statesman, His Excellency, President A. Barclay, our present and honored incumbent. Yes, and more than that, even America is a child of indiscriminate immigration which yet constitutes the greatest increase of American humanity. It made America great. May it not make Liberia great?" Thousands of American black men might no doubt move to Liberia with advantage and profit to themselves and to their adopted country. The Republic offers a rich field. But it needs no idlers, no paupers, no criminals. No one should go without having clear ideas as to his plans; the questions of "receptacle", location, temporary support, must be looked into and provided for. And the newcomer who is to be successful must be forceful, self-reliant, and ready to meet with temporary prejudice. While the conditions of many blacks might be improved by removal to Liberia, the black population in this country would be advantaged by the elimination; if a considerable

number of emigrants were to go to Liberia, pressure here would be relieved and conditions would be improved.

There will of course be a constant trickling of newcomers from this country to Liberia; there may very well be a constant stream. Such a stream indeed is necessary, if the vigor and vitality of Liberia is to be maintained; new blood is desirable—whether welcome or not. Know-nothing-ism is not confined to Liberia or to any one place. In the United States we have a condition which is comparable to that which Liberia presents. Here, too, the old population is barely holding its own, if it is doing so; the old families of New England and the eastern seaboard have largely run to seed; it is absolutely necessary that a great and steady immigration of European whites pour in to maintain our life by the infusion of new blood. Such immigration of course is not welcomed by our "true Americans". If rigid exclusion could be practiced, we should soon face a condition much like that of France. If we are to live and occupy a significant place among the nations of the world, we must accept this constant incoming of population from outside. The mixture of these newcomers with our own people, fagged and worn out by new and unfavorable conditions, produces a new stock with sufficient vigor to carry on our national development. The hope of Liberia lies largely in a considerable immigration of black people from our southern states.

One of the most serious dangers of Liberia lies in its isolation; it needs contact; everything that tends toward an increase of contact with the outside world is good. Liberia needs ideas, friends, interchange; otherwise stagnation is inevitable—and death. She must receive these aids either from Europe or from America; she will of course receive them from both; but the source of the greater part of her inspiration and ideals must be on this side of the Atlantic and

from our people of color. Immigration from America, whether small or great, must necessarily be helpful. If great and constant, difficulties will be lightened and helpful bonds strengthened.

If the temporary management in the hands of others of a part of our governmental machinery will result in actual and permanent independence and international respect, which I firmly believe will be the outcome, then it becomes our imperative duty as patriotic citizens to make such a necessary and noble sacrifice.—DANIEL E. HOWARD.

THE FOREIGN DEBT OF THE REPUBLIC.

THE LOAN OF 1870.

On January 26, 1870, the Legislature authorized President Edward J. Roye to negotiate a loan not exceeding £100,000, at not more than 7 per cent interest; the bonds were to run for fifteen years, and three years' interest advanced might be deducted. Of the sum to be received upon this loan £20,000 was to be used in buying up all the checks, scripts, currency debentures, and government paper of whatever kind then afloat; £20,000 more was to be deposited securely as a basis for the issue of a paper currency in what were to be known as Treasury Notes; the balance of the proceeds of the loan was to be deposited in some reliable bank as an emergency fund to be drawn upon at need by special act of the Legislature.

At the time when this action of the Legislature was taken, President Roye was about to go to England; it was supposed that he would attend to the business while in London, and that considerable expense would be saved to the nation by his personal attention to the details of the arrangement; for some reason or other, he did not take up the matter while he was absent. On his return to Monrovia, however, he proceeded to secure the loan. He appointed David Chinery, at that time consul for Liberia in London, Henry V. Johnson, Sr., and W. S. Anderson, com-

missioners—the two latter being sent to London for the purpose—to negotiate the loan. President Roye should of course have submitted this whole matter to the Legislature; there was considerable objection to the loan, and no serious steps should have been taken regarding it without the authorization of the legislative body. The commissioners succeeded in negotiating the loan for £100,000 at 7 per cent interest, at 30 per cent below par; three years' interest were deducted from the £70,000, leaving a balance of £49,000 to be placed to the credit of the commissioners. "Then followed," to quote the words of President Roberts, "a system of charges, speculations, and frauds unparalleled, I presume, in any public loan transactions of modern times." No sooner had the news of the negotiation reached President Roye, than he commenced to draw against it for himself and others, not waiting for any part of it to be paid into the treasury of the Republic for the purposes specified in the act, and before the Legislature had accepted the loan or taken any action in regard to it. More than that, without legislative authority, he sent an order drawn by the Secretary of the Treasury—a member of his own family—approved by himself for £10,000 value of merchandise, alleging that this was on account of the government. Mr. Chinery, in filling this order, sent merchandise invoiced at more than £14,000, including transportation, shipping-charges, freight, insurance, etc., most of the articles being charged at amounts in excess of their market value, many of them inferior in quality, and some nearly, and others entirely, useless in Liberia. How much was actually realized of this loan no one knows; Sir Harry Johnston says £27,000; Ferguson (from whom we draw most of the particulars regarding this transaction) says £17,903. In return for it, at least £80,000 in bonds were issued—Sir Harry Johnston says perhaps the whole £100,000.

The moment was one of political disturbance. In 1869 there had been an effort to amend the consti-

tution so as to extend the office of President from a term of two years to one of four; the effort failed. In May, 1871, when his two years had elapsed, Roye attempted to continue himself in power for two years longer; a shadow of an excuse for this usurpation was found in this attempted passing of an amendment. This bold coup, together with the dissatisfaction regarding the loan, led to his being hurled from power. Notice of the disturbed condition of the Republic was at once sent to the representative of Liberia in London, and to the bondholders; the newly established government ordered all drafts, etc., for money received on account of the loan to be stopped, countermanded the orders for goods, and demanded a *statu quo* until the Legislature should have a chance to act; legal proceedings were taken against Commissioners Johnson and Anderson; Chinery was discharged from his office as Liberian Consul in London; Mr. John Jackson was appointed Consul-General in his place and took charge of matters. So palpable was the mismanagement of this whole transaction in London, and so extravagant had been the charges and other outlays connected with it, that Consul Jackson took legal proceedings to protect the interests of the Republic.

Through a period of almost thirty years, the matter of this loan was constantly agitated, and it was only in 1898 that the Liberian Consul, Henry Hayman, was able to bring about a final arrangement of the unhappy affair. At that time the Liberian Government recognized its responsibility to the amount of £80,000; it agreed to begin payment at once upon the bonds—paying interest at the rate of 3 per cent the first three years, 4 per cent for the following three years, and 5 per cent thereafter until both the principal and interest be fully paid; after that, the back interests would be assumed at 5 per cent. Since this adjustment, the Liberian Government has regularly and honorably met its interest payments. Sir Harry Johnston, in his great work on Liberia, speaks

vigorously and frankly regarding this loan of 1870, which was a disgraceful operation for British financiers.

THE LOAN OF 1906.

It is curious that, in connection with the next financial undertaking of the Republic, which was little, if any, more satisfactory than the loan of 1870, Sir Harry himself should have played a significant part. When President Barclay and his companions were in London in 1906, they made arrangements for a new loan, also of £100,000. An interview was held at the office of Consul-General Hayman, at which were present Sir Harry H. Johnston, chairman of the Liberian Development Co., Limited, together with some of this company's officers, Mr. Clark of the Foreign Office, Emil Erlanger, and Consul Hayman. Mr. Erlanger represented the brokers through whom the Liberian Development Co. were to secure a loan of £100,000 for the benefit of Liberia. Excellent discussions of this loan by Mr. Ellis, who was so long connected with our Legation at Monrovia, and Mr. Scott, who was a member of the United States Commission in 1909, have been printed. It is from these articles that we draw our details.

The proceeds of the loan of 1906 were to be applied in the following manner: (a) \$25,000 was to be used for pressing Liberian obligations; (b) \$125,000 was to be employed in the payment of domestic debts; (c) \$35,000 was to be loaned to the Liberian Development Co.; (d) the balance was to be devoted to the development of banking, and for road schemes by the Liberian Development Co. in Liberia. As security for this loan, two British officials, as chief and assistant inspectors of customs, were to have charge of the Liberian customs revenue; the chief inspector was to act also as financial adviser to the Republic; \$30,000 annually (in semi-annual payments) was to be turned in as interest until the whole loan was repaid; 10 per cent of any excess over \$250,000 in

customs revenue per year was to be received by the Liberian Development Co. The "company was charged with the responsibility of returning the loan to Erlanger and Co. by the payment of 50 per cent of the net profits derived from the exercise of the powers and privileges of the charter of the former company, together with profits from the banking and road schemes to be undertaken in Liberia."

The loan was actually applied as follows: (a) to the extinguishment of domestic debts, £30,000; (b) loaned to the Liberian Development Co., £7000; (c) in carrying out road schemes, £32,776.11.3; (d) obtained by Liberia on ratification of tripartite agreement of 1908, £30,223.8.9; total, £100,000.

Friction soon arose in the administration of the customs. The Liberian Development Co. constructed fifteen miles of automobile road in the Careysberg District, bought a small steam launch for the St. Paul's River, and purchased two automobiles; it then announced that its road fund was completely exhausted, after having spent, on an ordinary dirt road, about \$163,882. Liberian dissatisfaction was great, and question was raised regarding the "balance of the £70,000 which had been entrusted without security to the management of the company." In the investigation which followed in an attempt to rearrange affairs, considerable feeling appears to have been shown. Sir Harry Johnston had repeatedly ignored the requests of President Barclay for an accounting by his company; in the interview in which efforts at adjustment were made, he is said to have conducted himself in a supercilious manner and to have expressed his surprise "that the President should have required the company to furnish him with a statement of accounts, and disclaimed any responsibility for the manner in which the money had been expended". Under the tripartite arrangement which was entered into between the Government of Liberia, Erlanger and Co., and the Liberian Development Co., Chartered and Limited, it was

finally arranged that "Liberia assume direct responsibility to Messrs. Erlanger and Co. for the loan of 1906, and, aside from obtaining some advantages in the new Agreement, secured from the Liberian Development Co. the residue of the loan, amounting to £30,223.8.9, and practically dispensed with the future services of this company in the solution of the new Liberian problems."

Mr. Emmett Scott makes some pertinent observations in connection with this affair. He says: "Sir Harry Johnston, in his book, quite spiritedly criticizes the agreements under the loan of 1871. It is hard to determine, however, how less one-sided they were than those of his own benevolent corporation, even if his company had in perfect good faith carried out their part of the bargain. The suggestion that the customs should be collected by European experts, Englishmen being understood, introduced, of course, the feature of external control into the customs service . . . of the so-called experts sent to Liberia under the agreement, the first one's selection was, to say the least, unfortunate. He all but confessed his utter failure after two or three months to understand what he was about, although he had been granted a salary of about \$3500 a year, much more than he had received in the British service in Sierra Leone. The second one appointed has developed into a somewhat capable official, although his chief claim to being called an expert was, it is said, that he had successfully raised oranges in California. He was certainly no customs expert, and, I learn, had probably never been inside of a customs house. He received £500 a year. The present chief inspector of customs is a wholly efficient man, but while doing similar service at Freetown, Sierra Leone, the neighboring country, he received a salary of £300 or \$1500 a year, while the Liberians are called upon to pay him a salary of £1000, or \$5000 a year. This salary, perhaps I should state, is twice that received by the President of the Republic. Efforts to reduce this salary to £700 or

\$3500 have recently been made, but with what success I cannot chronicle."

Again: "The company's high-handed manner of expending the money on hand, however, engendered so much bad blood, that at last President Barclay applied to Sir Harry Johnston, managing director of the Liberian Development Co., for an accounting. The latter, it is said, expressed the greatest surprise that such a demand should be made upon him, and disclaimed any and all responsibility to the Liberian Government for the way in which the money had been or was to be expended. He persistently refused to render any accounts until he found the position he maintained was so untenable that he could not depend upon his government for support; he also found that President Barclay was about to sever all relations with his company, maintaining, in the absence of any accounting, that the Government of Liberia would hold itself responsible only for the cash actually received. About \$200,000 of the amount raised on the credit of the government, it is said, had been frittered away on badly managed schemes."

And finally: "In dismissing this loan of 1906, may I say that no one now contends that the Liberian Development Co. has, or has had, any money aside from that raised on the Government's credit; to-day it is practically bankrupt. The relations between the Government and the Company have been severed, and under the agreement of 1908 with Messrs. Erlanger, London, the Liberian Government is responsible for the whole loan.

THE AMERICAN LOAN.

Conditions became desperate; there were now two obligations to British creditors, each for a handsome sum, and both drawing interest; more than that, there had grown up a considerable domestic debt; real bankruptcy seemed to threaten the nation. As a result of the visit of the American Commission to Liberia in 1909, the United States used its good

offices in favor of the Republic, and arrangements were perfected whereby certain banking institutions of the United States, Germany, France, and Great Britain furnished the Republic of Liberia with a loan of \$1,700,000; this loan was to be used in the payment of its domestic and foreign debts. According to the official report of the Commission, the public debt of Liberia in 1909 amounted to the sum of \$1,289,570.60. Mr. George W Ellis has prepared an excellent paper regarding this loan, and from it we abbreviate our own statement. In order to secure the loan, the Liberian customs revenues are temporarily to be placed in charge of a customs receivership, with a general receiver appointed from the United States by the President, and holding office during his pleasure, and three receivers, one each from Great Britain, Germany, and France, appointed by, and holding office during the pleasure of, their respective governments. As further security for the loan, the revenues from exports and imports, duties on rubber, and all head moneys are pledged. Five per cent gold bonds in denominations of \$1000, \$500, and \$100, for a period of forty years, interest and principal payable in New York, are to be issued by the Liberian Government. The Liberian revenues subject to the loan are transferred for its service and are termed "assigned revenues"; these assigned revenues are in charge of the receivership. The majority of the receivers have the power to suspend customs officials, make temporary appointments, make rules and regulations relative to the assigned revenues; they have a right to adequate patrol for land and sea, and in case such is not furnished, to supply it themselves. The general receiver has a salary of \$5000, the others, \$2500. A monthly report of accounts is to be rendered to the government. As a condition of the loan, the frontier police force is to be maintained; the President of the United States is to assign training officers, to be paid from the assigned revenues. The General Receiver is also the Financial Adviser of

the Liberian Government; he is to systematize the finances of Liberia; and to approve statements before submission to the legislature. Appropriations must not overrun the revenues; after the legislature adjourns, the President, Secretary of the Treasury, and the Financial Adviser must revise the appropriations if they have overrun; their act is binding to the Secretary of the Treasury. The Financial Adviser co-operates with the government in establishing economical and efficient administration and expenditure. The debts of the Republic are to be at once paid—by bonds where the creditors chose to receive them. The bankers are to receive for their services their out-of-pocket expenses, legal charges, commission on the face value of the 5 per cent bonds, and 5 per cent on the bonds purchased by themselves. Residue bonds are to be held by the fiscal agents to meet approved, unadjusted indebtedness: final residue bonds will be sold and the money paid to Liberia for public improvements approved by the General Receiver. In order that this agreement should go into effect, it was necessary that the Liberian Legislature should pass all necessary measures of approval before January 1, 1912. This was done. There was some delay in finally placing the funds at the disposition of the Liberian Government, but at present everything has been arranged and the new loan is in effect. This arrangement caused general joy throughout the Republic; it was felt not only that it released the people from a heavy and dangerous obligation to unfriendly creditors, but that it probably began a period of closer relationship between the United States and Liberia. It is possible that too much of a feeling of security existed. It is likely that more joy was felt over the receipt of \$1,700,000 than of responsibility for its ultimate repayment. On the whole, it must be admitted that the loan is favorable to the Republic. The government has realized a much larger percentage of actual funds than in any of its preceding financial undertakings. There are,

however, some weak points in the plan. It is unfortunate that the loan was theoretically made through banks of different nations; as a matter of fact, it was an American enterprise, and should have been so in word as well. There is no reason why foreign nations should be interested—except indeed that Great Britain should experience a sentiment of joy in having the interests of her citizens secured. The sum of \$1,700,000 is so small that it could have been easily supplied by American houses and considered a little matter with no actual political relations. That the loan should have been secured by a receivership is just, but it would have been much better to have appointed a single American receiver instead of four men of different nations. In this international receivership there lies considerable danger. Friction is likely. France, England, Germany are suspicious of each other. The simplest act is liable to misconception, and one or another of the three sub-receivers is likely to feel his dignity and that of his nation affected, and squabbles are certain to arise. The American receiver, as is proper, is given the position of leadership. Suppose he were to die or be unfit for service; which of the other three receivers will take his place? There appears to be no arrangement made for such a contingency, yet it is quite certain to arise, and if it should, the man who temporarily assumes the duties, will be particularly likely to find himself in trouble. The question as to location of the four receivers may some time or other raise difficulties. Suppose, for example, the British receiver were placed at Cape Mount, adjacent to British territory, and the French receiver were to be located at Cape Palmas, close to French authority; opportunity for unfaithfulness to the Republic would be very great. There is nothing in the history of the past to warrant us in assuming that these officials would be men of such high spirit and principle as to resist temptation. The possibility of difficulties between the General Receiver and the Liberian Gov-

ernment is also very great. He is given large powers; unless he is a man of extraordinary ability and well-balanced character, it is certain that complications will arise; there will be constant risk of his intermeddling in every field of governmental affairs. Some of these difficulties of course are inherent in a receivership, and as a receivership is absolutely necessary, their risk must be accepted.

On the whole, the American loan should be a great help to Liberia. Friends of the Republic hope for the best results. The government is given a breathing spell, and time and opportunity for the re-adjustment of its economic interests. There is no danger, if the receivership is competent, but that the income of the nation will easily carry the loan with all its obligations, and leave ample funds in balance for the legitimate enterprises of the government. It is reasonable to hope that Liberia has entered upon a period of prosperity.

Yes, I say these were but slaves who gave us the Declaration of Independence. They were but slaves who framed our Constitution, they were but slaves who combatted with the odds of life, amidst wars, devastation, and foreign aggressions to hold intact for us and for our children this home of ours.—S. D. FERGUSON, JR.

POLITICS.

We have hesitated long about undertaking this discussion of Liberian politics. We are almost certain to be misunderstood, no matter what we say or how we say it. In Liberia they will feel that we lack sympathy, that we drag forth their weaknesses and expose them to public scorn; in this country they will fail to see that the weak points of Liberian politics are common to all republics, that they are as flagrant among ourselves as in Liberia; in foreign lands—should our book be read in such—what we say will be taken as justification for continued aggression and interference. We wish that Liberia were a land of general education; that the whole population had a clear understanding of the duties of citizenship; that knowledge of public questions were general. Such conditions are ideal in a republic. We do not find them in Liberia; we do not find them here. Liberian politics is patterned on our own; its weaknesses are our weaknesses. It is easy for us to see its faults because we are an outside party; because we are rich and they are poor; because we are white and they are black. In Liberia there is a general desire to feed at the public trough; it makes no difference what a man is or what he has accomplished, every one is ready to go into politics; neither trade, agriculture, nor professional life restrains a man who has political opportunities presented to him;

everybody of ability wants office. This is unfortunate; it is neither strange, unique, nor blameworthy. Every official, however, has a list of dependents; once in office, he must provide for others; the number of brothers, sons, nephews, and cousins of officials who find some clerkship or small appointment is relatively large. As almost every office in the Republic, save that of representatives and senators, is appointed by the President, it is very easy for one who holds office to practice nepotism. It is and will be a long time before anything like actual civil service can find a place in Liberia. Such a condition of course leads to little activity in the doing of work for the Government; the less a man can do to earn his salary, the better, so long as he is certain of his job. We have already called attention to the fact, quoting from Ellis, that there is relatively little of what we know as party politics in Liberia. Practically there are no well marked political platforms based on principles. If, perchance, hostility to the powers that be threatens to become dangerous, it may be checked by skilful appointment from the opposition to office. Thus, at the last election, which was the most bitterly fought for many years, it was claimed that the defeated candidate, J. J. Dossen, would never be heard of in politics again; such, however, was not the case; he must be provided for, in order that his later course might not threaten the existing status; being without a job, he received appointment to the presidency of Liberia College—a mere temporary arrangement of course; he is now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

There are, however, personal likes and dislikes which will vent themselves in outbursts of party spirit. The last election was really furious. It voiced the local jealousies of the whole Republic. Just as in the state of Illinois it is Chicago against the counties, and as in New York State it is the City of New York against the upstate districts; so, in Liberia, it is Monrovia against the counties. The

election was really close after an exciting campaign. Charges of fraud were bitterly advanced. According to the *African League*, there were wild doings in Bassa County where it is printed. We refrain from really quoting the *interesting* and *exciting* passages from its article, but venture to give here its opening paragraphs:

"As the day of election approached, great preparations were made by the Government and the Government officials to defeat the National True Whig Party at any cost, and in any manner. They sent money in every direction to call unqualified nameless bushmen to come, and put into the hands of the Sheriff a paper which is worth only so much gin and rum to the bushmen. These bush people had never seen, nor heard of, the registrar's office. Neither do they own any land in contemplation of law, but Howard people, simply because they have had the Government's approval in this corruption, had planned to force the corruption into the polls.

The people who stand for law and order sent white plates to all the native chiefs, after the customs of the heathen, telling them to have nothing to do with the matter in which they are not concerned and know nothing about.

The Government people threatened that they would vote these bush people or die. The people knew what that meant, and they began to prepare for the worst, for they were determined that the law should not be trampled under foot in that way to their prejudice, and that, too, by those who are the administrators of the law. On Monday, the first of May, a host of these uncivilized bush people, headed by Major Horace, flocked into the upper ward of Buchanan, well armed with the best guns of the Government, and that night shooting in the streets was a common thing. Near Lower Buchanan, there were different bands of these wild, bush people in camp carrying on their savage plays. In Lower Buchanan at the Vai town, the hideous noise was kept up all

night, apparently as a menace to the citizens for the next day." On the following day the election took place throughout the Republic, resulting in the continuance in power of the interests which for so long had controlled the destinies of the nation; nine contested cases were lodged against the House of Representatives and one against the Senate; threats ran high, feeling was intense. It is certainly an interesting moment when more than half the membership of a house of Congress is in dispute. Yet this excitement was allayed, and the contests were all withdrawn; it was realized that Congress had important business before it in connection with the American Loan, and that the future of the Republic would be seriously jeopardized if the time of Congress were taken up with hearing contest cases instead of dealing with these outside matters.

There is no question that in Liberia illegal voting is common. The election to which we have referred above was that of 1911; in 1901 Bishop Ferguson issued a charge to his clergy and lay members upon the subject of election evils in which the following words occur: "The corruptions and wickedness that have attended the last three or four campaigns are startling to all right-minded people, and, if continued, no prophet is needed to foretell the disastrous consequences that will inevitably follow. Election frauds, open-handed bribery, and the utter disregard of all moral restraints seem to be the order of the day. Those who at other times are recognized as Christian gentlemen, do not scruple on these occasions to perpetrate offenses that are condemned both by God's law and that of the state. To procure the election of a party man, they lose sight of, or completely disregard, their standing in the Church, in society, or the social circle; and will stoop to do the meanest act. What is worse than all, is the fact that the evils have become so rife that it appears there are not to be found innocent citizens enough to punish the guilty under the laws of the land. And now, to

my mind, the worst feature of the thing is the fact that the aborigines—our brothers just emerging from the darkness of heathenism—are either coming voluntarily, sought out and persuaded, or actually forced into this whirl-pool of corruption and wickedness. It is enough to chill one's blood to think of the impression made on their minds, on their induction into civilized usages at such time:—jostled through a crowd of men,—ruffians now, though at other times Christian gentlemen—armed with deadly weapons of every description, they are made to swear that they are constitutionally qualified for the highest privilege of citizenship under a republican form of government."

Again in an Independence Day address given by Dr. Dingwall at Buchanan in 1910 were these words: "Ignorant and purchasable voters are ruinous to all other republics. Why not to ours likewise? At the polls the vote of a fool is counted one, and that one takes the whole of a philosopher's to cancel it. Now in Liberia these are chiefly manufactured from the wild heathen, more than ninety-nine in a night. The privilege to take a few acres of land and register hundreds of nameless natives, or on election day to vote each hour the identical bushman, by simply christening him afresh for each occasion, is a dangerous weapon in the hands of politicians. This practice would have destroyed democracy, were these leaders even honest in purpose and patriotic in spirit."

The seriousness of the situation is that any effort to keep the native vote from being fraudulently cast, is likely to interfere with the legitimate voting of qualified chiefs; the desirability of having those natives who are really entitled to the vote exercise their right of franchise is most important; but to give unqualified native voters the chance to cast fraudulent ballots is bad indeed. Of course this whole question of illegal voting should hardly shock us; in my own morning paper, the very day when I am writing

this, these words appear in prominent head-lines: "Fraud in ballots a Chicago habit Butts Board told." It is impossible for the pot to call the kettle black. The outside world, however, unaccustomed to the little peculiarities of "manhood suffrage," will no doubt claim to be sadly shocked; it might even be that some clean-skirted nation like France or England might hysterically demand reform.

We have elsewhere claimed that the Liberians, too, know graft. Official salaries are very small; why then does political office possess such great attraction? Of course position and power count for something; but there are other solid advantages connected with office in Liberia as well as in other lands. When graft exists in France, Germany, even in respectable and pious England, it is not strange that it exists in the African Republic. More than that, graft is by no means confined to civilization; the native in the bush understands it both in theory and practice. It would be strange indeed if the descendants of barbaric grafters, who had been trained in civilized graft through a long American experience, should be free from graft when conducting their own affairs in a new land as rich by nature as is Liberia. The number of schemes which are proposed to the Liberian Legislature is very large; many of them are magnificent in their proportions, enterprises, and prospects; what could be more dazzling than the project submitted a few years ago by the Ellsworth Company of New York? I do not mean to say that that individual company used improper means to influence legislative action; but a company with as ambitious plans as they offered, if adequately capitalized, could easily have made the whole Legislature rich rather than lose their opportunity. In the same way Sir William Lever, in his effort to secure monopoly or large advantage in the palm-oil product of the Republic would, from a business point of view, be amply justified in making it well worth while for the patriots to encourage his enterprise. Of course, many of these

schemes fail totally; many of them never get beyond a paper proposition; in the past, however, the Liberian Legislature has been much too free in giving concessions with monopolies. While the terms given to the English Rubber Company seemed to leave opportunity for competitive development of the trade by others, it practically put all competitors in the power of the company. Liberia is beginning to realize that in careless granting of monopolies and special privileges she has hampered her own freedom and interfered with legitimate development; not long ago the Government granted a concession to Edgar Allen Forbes and others; it seems to have been a legitimate and carefully-thought-out enterprise which he submitted; its development would no doubt be advantageous to the public; but it is found that previous concessions were infringed by some of its terms, and difficulties have arisen. On the whole, it would be much better for Liberia if the propositions submitted to it were less pretentious and far-reaching; it is better that she should have fifty different companies operating within her borders, each within a definite field and succeeding within modest limits, than that everything should be held in the hands of one or two great corporations which, when a moment of difficulty comes, may be able to bring influences to bear which will threaten or even destroy the existence of the nation.

Liberian officials quite well know the thing which we call junkets. One might almost think himself at home at times. When some crisis arises, and the "Lark" must be sent to a seat of danger, high officials, whose relations to the Government are not such that their presence is necessary at the seat of disturbance, take advantage of the opportunity for a fine outing. The nation may be in financial difficulty, but good food, good smoking, and good drinks seem easily provided; such an outing not infrequently gives the official opportunity to transact private business, for he may have interests near the seat of the

disturbance. Junkets are presumably inherent in governmental activities of every kind; they are not confined to democracies, though they are common in them. Anywhere of course they are undesirable and should be curbed; nations, especially republics, should not be called upon to supply free outings, free business opportunities, free luxuries to individuals at public cost.

One of the reforms demanded by the British memorandum was the improvement of the judiciary. Here there was indeed real reason for complaint. Liberia has few well trained lawyers; it was not uncommon for a man to be appointed judge who had no legal training; there were not infrequent cases of personal and professional misconduct on the part of judges. President Barclay, in his message of 1908, a notable document be it said in passing, says the following: "International attacks upon this (our judicial system) commenced some years ago, and the movement was initiated by citizens of the German Empire living in Liberia. But the crisis has been precipitated by our people. When the editor of the *African League*, himself an ex-judge, an attorney at law, a citizen, publishes a special edition of his paper, headed "Startling Revelations," in which the judicial system of the country is attacked both in its personnel as well as on its administrative side, when he describes himself as a scapegoat and martyr, and when months pass and no reply to his attack is made by the persons affected, what conclusion, do you think, can other communities of the world, having business interests in Liberia, draw?" In his address, *The Impartial Administration of Justice, the Corner-Stone of a Nation*, Justice T. McCants Stewart says: "It can not be denied, however, that our judiciary to-day is the object of serious charges both by foreigners and our own citizens, and they are charges which demand serious consideration. They can not be brushed aside. The British Government is not alone in making these charges. Our own people have

made them, and our Chief Executive has declared to the Legislature that evils exist in our judicial system which must be speedily remedied if we desire to strengthen ourselves as a nation. Gentlemen of the Bar: Can we be quiet while our judges are charged both at home and abroad with: (1) ignorance; (2) excessive use of intoxicants; (3) the exhibition of prejudice or passion in the trial of cases; (4) shocking immorality; (5) accepting retainers from private parties; (6) sharing moneys as a reward for the arrest of criminals; (7) accepting bribes?" This is specific enough and bad enough. To the credit of the nation be it said that reforms have seriously been undertaken, and the present condition of the judiciary is greatly improved. It is rather interesting that we ourselves at this moment are agitating against a corrupt judiciary; it is scarcely likely that we are in a condition for stone-throwing.

Of course where there is corruption in the judiciary there is almost certain to be miscarriage of justice. During the time we were in Monrovia, there was great excitement over the case of Col. Lomax and Commissioner Cooper. We have already mentioned Col. Lomax. He figured conspicuously in the Kanre-Lahun matter, when he gained the undying hostility of the British; when Major Mackay Cadell was removed from his position as the head of the Frontier Force, Lomax took charge; he has recently been in the district of the newly acquired Behlu Territory. This is the tract of forest land, of little value, which Great Britain traded to the Liberian Government in exchange for the rich and desirable Kanre-Lahun district. Poor as that area is, Britain will never be content to leave it in Liberian possession. In taking over the area, Col. Lomax was sent to the new boundary with soldiers, and Commissioner Cooper was sent to aid in delimiting the boundary. Of course there was trouble; there would have been trouble had Lomax and Cooper been angels. At the town of Behlu itself, certainly within the new Li-

berian territory, there was difficulty, and several Liberian soldiers were killed. All sorts of complaints were hurried to Monrovia by the Sierra Leone authorities:—Lomax was causing difficulties; he and Cooper were interfering with the delimitation of the boundary; Liberian soldiers, instigated no doubt by Lomax, were tearing down the cairns which marked the boundary line; the British commissioners refused to do anything unless both men were summoned from the border, and meantime would charge up the expenses of the commission for the period of their idleness; Col. Lomax was accused of murder—it was stated that he had killed eight native chiefs. These complaints were so urgent and serious that the President of the Republic sent orders to Lomax and Cooper to return at once to Monrovia; to these orders no attention was given. The Secretary of State was sent to fetch them, but is said to have stayed in the district, apparently sympathizing in their attitude; it is asserted that the deeds of violence, destruction of cairns, and insulting of British commissioners continued after he was on the ground. The Postmaster-General was hurried to the boundary to bring back the Secretary of State, the Colonel, the Commissioner, and their henchman, Lieutenant Morris,—who, it seems, had been the active agent in the cairn destruction. Some days of inexplicable delay seem to have passed, when the Secretary of the Treasury, the Assistant Secretary of State, and Capt. Brown (one of the American officers) were hastened to the scene of difficulty to get the recalcitrants home. The Secretary of State, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Treasury, and Capt. Brown started together for Monrovia; Lomax, Cooper, and Morris were reported to be already upon their way through the interior to the capital. Arrived there, Lomax and Cooper were promptly jailed; less promptly they were brought to trial. The Attorney-General presented the case against them. Lomax was tried for the murder of two native chiefs; Cooper for the murder of a third.

The Lomax trial lasted two days; it was before the jury for but ten minutes. He was found not guilty, and was carried in triumph on the shoulders of friends, amidst a great outburst of feeling, from the court-house. The Cooper trial came the next day; it was promptly decided in his favor. There is no question that the Behlu difficulty is on; Great Britain will in some way get back the territory which she so generously traded to Liberia; undoubtedly in the diplomatic dealings regarding it much will be made of this Lomax case; there is not the least doubt that the native chiefs were killed; there is no denial that Lomax and Cooper were responsible for the killing; but the trial and its results are good psychology; they were as inevitable as anything could be. There was in this case no actual miscarriage of justice; Col. Lomax is a national hero; he embodied the national aspirations; he represented the nation as a victim of the injustice and greed of Britain through the years; his ovation was the result of natural sentiments. It may not be diplomacy; it may not be good politics; but it is in the very nature of humanity.

The great American government, after a silence, far from forgetting and abandoning the tender infant cast upon the shores of Africa, has come in our hour of danger to assist us on her strong pinions to a nest of safety. If we but follow her example and heed her teachings of economy, thrift and industry, and if we are just in our dealings with men and nations we shall never escape her vigilant eye, nor cease to be the object of marked manifestation of interest on her part.—DANIEL E. HOWARD.

THE APPEAL TO THE UNITED STATES.

In 1908 Liberian conditions were desperate. England and France had been alternately slicing off territory; debts were weighing the nation down, and creditors were pressing; reforms were insolently demanded under threats. The future indeed was dark. In her hour of desperation, Liberia turned to the United States. The idea of seeking aid from us seems to have been first voiced by T. McCants Stewart in January, 1908. A Commission was appointed by the Legislature—consisting of Garretson W. Gibson, J. J. Dossen, and Charles B. Dunbar, with Charles R. Branch and T. J. R. Faulkner as secretaries. Garretson W. Gibson had been President of the Republic and was a man well on in years and generally respected; J. J. Dossen was at the time Vice-President; Charles B. Dunbar is a successful and well trained lawyer. On its way to the United States the Commission visited Germany, where it was well received and officially entertained in the capital city, Berlin. On its arrival in New York in May, Charles Hall Adams, of Boston, Consul-General for Liberia in this country, and Booker T. Washington received them and attended to the details of their visit. They spent several days in New York and visited Tuskegee, but, of course, spent most of their

time in the city of Washington. They were received by President Roosevelt on the 10th of June, had several important interviews with Secretary Root, and were introduced to Secretary Taft—just before the Republican Convention was held which nominated him for the presidency of the United States. They were everywhere treated with distinguished courtesy and everywhere made a remarkably favorable impression; the newspapers gave considerable space to their visit and quite a general interest was aroused in their errand. A notable reception was given in their honor in Washington by the Negro Business League. Before they left New York, Secretary Taft had received his nomination, and one of their last official acts was the sending of a letter of congratulation to him.

The Commission arrived at home in August, 1909. An official reception was given them on the 18th by President Barclay. The address of welcome was given by the Secretary of State, F. E. R. Johnson, and other addresses by Acting Mayor Roberts and Postmaster-General Prout. Replies were made by Gibson, Dossen, Dunbar, and Faulkner. It is significant that in these addresses more emphasis was laid upon the subject of negro education in the United States than upon other matters. Both then and while in this country, Vice-President Dossen especially emphasized the importance of immigration; he wants 600,000 negroes from America to settle in Liberia, and claims that the people of Liberia feel that they are holding their territory in trust for this mass of immigrants. Music and refreshments were supplied and a speech of congratulation given by President Barclay. Of course nothing definite at this time could be said in regard to the actual results of the Commission's visit; no one knew just what impression had been made upon our Government; no one knew just what to expect in the way of action.

Our Government, however, had seriously taken Liberian matters under advisement, and on the 4th

of March, 1909, an American Commission was appointed to visit Liberia and to investigate Liberian conditions. The Commissioners were Roland P. Falkner, George Sale, and Emmett J. Scott, with George A. Finch as secretary. The Commission sailed on April 24th, 1909, and arrived in Monrovia on the 8th of May. They spent thirty days in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The work they had to do was wisely divided up among the members of the Commission, in order to permit their accomplishing the utmost in the short time at their disposition.

Their arrival at Liberia was hailed with joy. In anticipation of their coming the legislators had come from all the counties to Monrovia and were in the capital before the arrival of the Commission. The cruiser *Chester* arrived in front of Monrovia on the morning of May 8th, and at once saluted with twenty-one guns; the salute was returned by the Liberians from the shore. Ernest Lyon, the American Minister, at once boarded the vessel. When he returned, the Attorney-General with a party of citizens went on board to escort the Commissioners to the shore. The city was gaily decorated. The Mayor, Common Council, and a crowd of citizens met the Commissioners at the landing where, under the first arch of welcome, the acting Mayor made an address. Mr. Falkner replied on behalf of the Commission. Two companies of the militia escorted the Commission up the hill to the second arch, where Mrs. Parker addressed them on behalf of the Liberian ladies. Sale responded, after which Mrs. McGill spoke on behalf of the county of Grand Bassa. At the third arch Miss Irene A. Gant received them on behalf of Sinoe County, and Miss Matilda Roberts on behalf of Maryland County. Passing now to the American legation, they were officially received by the American Minister. Few public occasions in the history of Monrovia equal this reception, which fairly deserves to be called a popular ovation. On the 11th, President Barclay offered the Commission an official reception

at which the President and the Cabinet, the Commission and attachés, and the United States Minister with his Secretary were present. In the afternoon of the 12th, a general reception was given at the Executive Mansion. During their stay in Africa, the Commission visited Grand Bassa and Maryland, and in both regions they were treated with distinguished courtesy. The report of the Commission sent to the Senate and House of Representatives by President Taft on March 25th, 1910, was an exceptionally good public document. The Commission recognized the importance of the work entrusted to it and did its work with thoroughness. They made six recommendations to our government. They were as follows: (1) That the United States extend its aid to Liberia in the prompt settlement of pending boundary disputes. (2) That the United States enable Liberia to refund its debt by assuming as guarantee for the payment of obligations under such arrangement the control and collection of the Liberian customs. (3) That the United States lend its assistance to the Liberian Government in the reform of its internal finances. (4) That the United States lend its aid to Liberia in organizing and drilling an adequate constabulary or frontier police force. (5) That the United States should establish and maintain a research station in Liberia. (6) That the United States re-open the question of a naval coaling station in Liberia. Some of these recommendations the United States has carried through. She has made the loan necessary for the refunding of the public debt; she is lending assistance to the Liberian Government in the reform of internal finances; she is aiding Liberia in the organization and drilling of her frontier force. These are good things, and it is to be hoped that they will prove as helpful as has been anticipated. We *should* help Liberia, and help her handsomely; she deserves all that we can do for her. We must be careful, of course, in our assistance, not to accustom her to the notion of dependency. Muscle can only be developed

in a body by the exercise of that body itself. No being can develop muscle for another. Liberia, if she is to prosper, must develop energy, force, independence; she needs help but must work out her own salvation. Exercise to be valuable must not be a death struggle; we must protect her from her foes, but we must insist upon her self-development. There are, however, still many things that we can do for the Republic without reducing her to a condition of dependency and pauperization.

We should energize every already existing bond between us. There are already missions established in the Republic; these should be handsomely maintained, without forgetting that the ultimate end is the production of self-supporting churches; the needs of missions and mission-schools should be carefully examined by the different Boards and liberal appropriations made to meet them; it is desirable that the Presbyterian denomination—so rich, respectable, and self-satisfied—should really look after its "little flock of humble black folk" with their splendid opportunity before them. The Boards which hold funds for the benefit of Liberia College should seriously recognize the importance of their responsibility; they should investigate with care, and act promptly and liberally; they must devise some method of more effective co-operation with the local management for gaining the great ends possible by combined action. There are funds in the United States intended to aid Liberia, which are tied up and have been tied up for many years through some unfortunate condition in the terms of the bequest; such funds, if possible, should be put to work; if they are actually unavailable, it is best that a final decision be reached, and public announcement be made of the unfortunate fact; it is better that Liberia should not be kept waiting in hope of aid that never comes. A considerable interest was aroused in the United States by the visit of the Commission in 1908; this interest was

shown in the newspapers of the day; it is greatly to be desired that the American people should be kept constantly informed as to Liberia; information should not be spasmodically given out, but there should be a definite, constant spreading of facts regarding the Republic, whose heroic struggle deserves our firm and steady sympathy. The need was never greater for a regular line of shipping between the two Republics than now; this has been already sufficiently considered. It would be a fine philanthropy to establish and conduct such a line of communication for a period of time, even at a loss; in the long run, the line would lose its philanthropic feature and become a fairly paying business proposition. It is most important that the contact between the two nations be increased; Liberians have occasionally come to us under various circumstances; more Americans in course of time visit Liberia than the public generally knows; every opportunity of inviting Liberians to this country as students, delegates, visitors, business representatives, should be encouraged; and it should become a simple, natural, and frequent thing for Americans to visit the black Republic. Lastly, our government should adopt a clear and definite policy of sympathy; if we make it well understood that we look upon Liberia as related to us, and that we will permit no further injustice, we need have no fears of being involved in international difficulties on her account; the cry "hands off" will be sufficient. Let us quit internationalizing her problems. They are justly questions between us and her; they concern no other nation. But do not let us ever think of absorbing the Republic; let us guarantee her independence; we do not wish a protectorate; we have too many different kinds of national relations now; Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, and the Philippines make our governmental policy to-day sufficiently complex. We want no more new and strange relations. Liberia is

our sister nation—daughter, if you please—and very definitely such. She is brunette, but her virtues are our virtues, her vices are our vices. Let us admit and emphasize the kinship.

REPRINTED ARTICLES.

THE LIBERIAN CRISIS.

(*Unity*. March 25, 1909.)

In closing my *The Truth about the Congo*, I said: "If it is necessary for us as a nation to look for African adventure; if to give a strenuous President the feeling that he is 'doing something' we must meddle in the affairs of the Dark Continent, there is a district where we might intervene with more of reason and consistency and grace than we are doing by going to the Congo. We once established on African soil, whether wisely or not I do not intend to discuss, a free republic for the blacks. In Liberia we have an American enterprise, pure and simple. It has not been a great success. It is just possible—though I doubt it—that Liberia would at several times have profited and been advantaged by our instruction and interest. But it seems to possess little interest for us. Just now, like the Congo, it is attracting British attention. Whether it has large or little value, whether it possesses great opportunities or not, it is now a center of interest to Great Britain. She does not need our help in pulling chestnuts from the fire there, and there has been strange silence and ignorance in this country regarding it as a new sphere for English influence. If we assist England in expanding her African possessions at the expense of the Congo Free State, Liberia will be the next fraction of Africa to succumb to English rule. England's methods of procedure are various. It might be a useful lesson for our statesmen and politicians to study Liberia's prospects with care. We are still young in the business of grabbing other people's lands. England could teach us many lessons. The latest one may well be worthy of our attention, since, in a certain sense, it deals with a district where we naturally possess an interest."

At the time, these suggestions caused some surprise. Americans were (and are) totally ignorant regarding Liberia and felt that my remarks were due to prejudice. I have no prejudice against England, from which my ancestry chiefly came. A few months have proved the truth of my predictions. In May last a Commission appointed by the Liberian government called upon President Roosevelt and begged the intervention of the United States for the purpose of guaranteeing independence and "integrity against the encroachments of powerful Euro-

pean governments." Among the reasonable ideas urged by this Commission was that disputes between Liberia and France, Germany and England should be settled by arbitration and not by a resort to force. We wisely refused to establish a protectorate over Liberia, but our government agreed to use its good offices with England, France and Germany. Considerable correspondence seems to have taken place and some interest relative to Liberia has been aroused. But on the whole no serious progress has been made and a few days since the newspapers contained the following item:

"Washington, D. C., Feb. 12.—Cable advices received at the state department today indicate that a climax has been reached in the Liberian situation. Conditions are grave, and great alarm is felt by foreign officials in Liberian employ.

"A British gunboat has arrived to afford protection to foreign interests and a company of soldiers has been sent from Sierra Leone to the capitol at Monrovia for the same purpose. Apparently great despondency is entertained as to the ability of the government to maintain itself and as to the future of Liberia as a nation."

The notice closed with these words:

"The cable today called attention to the effort of the state department, inaugurated by Secretary Root, to secure an appropriation of \$20,000 to enable the president to send to Liberia a commission with a view to reporting recommendations as to the specific action this government should take which would constitute the most effective measures of relief. Secretary Root anticipated the development of conditions which would menace seriously the future of Liberia, which was established as a direct result of the action, first, of American citizens, and, secondly, of the government of the United States."

What can we do? What should we do? First; we should notify Great Britain, France and Germany that encroachment upon Liberian sovereignty will be considered an unfriendly act by us; that coercion ought not to be used in the collection of debts, even though Liberia did not take part in the Hague Conference of 1907. Second; we should use our good offices to bring about definite arrangements between Liberia and the European nations for arbitration of all points at issue between them. Third; we should under no circumstances attempt to make a model government for her, nor should we insist upon reforms along our lines, but we should appoint an *advisory* commission of thoughtful and well-balanced men, who shall thoroughly investigate conditions and stand ready to give asked advice when needful upon points of importance. This commission should be retained for several years and should be non-partisan. So much we can and should do.

THE NEEDS OF LIBERIA.

(The Open Court. March, 1913.)

The situation of Liberia is critical. Her long-troubling boundary questions with Great Britain and France are not permanently settled; they have been re-opened and both countries are pressing.

We did well to come to her financial aid; but we did badly in needlessly inflicting upon her an *expensive* and *complicated* international receivership instead of an *economical, simple* and *national* one.

Liberia's crying needs are:

a. Training of her native frontier force to protect her boundaries and maintain order there;

b. Development of existing trails, with their ultimate transformation into roads and railroad beds;

c. Restoration and development of agriculture—now neglected;

d. Education, especially along lines of manual and technical training.

Liberia's greatest asset is her *native population*; only by imbuing it with the feeling of common interest and by securing its hearty co-operation can the government of Africa's only republic hope to maintain itself and prosper.

A SOJOURNER IN LIBERIA.

(The Spirit of Missions. April, 1913.)

Anxious to see all possible of Liberia, we gladly accepted Bishop Ferguson's invitation to visit Bromley and to inspect the work done at the Julia C. Emery Hall. On reaching the landing at Monrovia at 8 a. m. we found the mission steamer, the *John Payne*, ready. Our party consisted of ex-President Barclay, ex-Postmaster-General Blount, Justice T. McCants Stewart of the Supreme Court, Major Young, U. S. A., military attaché of the American Legation, Mayor Johnson, the Rev. Mr. Cassell and Bishop Ferguson—all residents of Liberia—my photographer and myself. He and I were the only white men. Of the colored men some were born in Liberia, others in the United States—North and South—one at least in the British West Indies. Ex-President Arthur Barclay is by many considered to be the ablest man of Liberia; he has had a wide experience and has gained exceptional knowledge of Liberian needs and problems. Mayor Johnson is one of the sons of the late President Johnson, who was the first "son of the soil" to occupy the presidential chair of the negro republic. Bishop Ferguson, born in South Carolina, has lived so many years in Cape Palmas and Monrovia that no one ever thinks of him as

aught but a Liberian. He is a man of energy and ideas and his work speaks for his efficiency. We were soon off, and for three hours steamed up the river, a typical, tropical African stream. A dense tangle of mangroves extends far out from the shore on both sides, over the water, completely concealing the actual land; the trunks rise from pyramids of exposed roots; from the branches, slender shoots, round-tipped, strike vertically down, penetrate the water, force their way into the soft, oozy mud of the river bottom, take root and aid in spreading the tangled growth still further out over the water. Here and there straight gashes are cut into this mass of crowded trees to serve as landing-channels for native canoes. The first part of our journey was up a branch stream, the St. Paul's River branching near its mouth and entering the sea by more than the single outlet. As we approached the main river, the mangrove thicket thinned, and the most striking feature in the vegetation was the dragon-palm. It, too, rises from a pyramidal mass of exposed roots, but in form and foliage it is totally unlike the mangrove; its long narrow leaves lead to its being often called the sword-palm. Here we could often look back over the land, and saw oil-palms with their delicate, graceful crowns outlined against the blue sky—truly blue sky, for by October 15 the period of rains is practically over. We had passed settlements, here and there, upon the way; single houses of "Liberians," or little clusters of "native" huts; New Georgia, on our right, is quite a village but seems to bear an indifferent reputation—due perhaps to its history; it was settled with slaves rescued from slaving-vessels and such slaves were rarely considered as equals, in the old days, by the colonists.

When we reached the main river, the whole character of the scenery changed. The river itself was wider; the banks were cleaner and the flat land stood higher; the mangrove swamps disappeared; plantations showing considerable attention were to be seen here and there. While we had chatted and viewed the scene the Bishop had not been idle, and the smiling black boy now passed an abundant supply of sandwiches and sliced cake, daintily wrapped in paper and tied with narrow ribbons, all prepared beforehand by Mrs. Ferguson. Served with lemon and strawberry soda-water they were a welcome refreshment.

We had been so fully occupied that we had hardly noticed that three hours had passed when we saw Bromley ahead. The building stands on a level terrace well above the river. It is said to be the largest in Liberia; whether so or not, it is a spacious, plain, well-built construction, admirably adapted to its purpose. Its architect and master builder, Mr. Scott, met us at the landing. He is a native of pure blood, a Grebo from Cape Palmas district. He has never been outside of Liberia and has had to gain his knowledge and experience as he best could. He has had correspondence instruction from an American school and finds it of advantage.

The building is known as the Julia C. Emery Hall and serves as a girls' school. The parlor is a fine room and upon its walls are displayed interesting cuts, portraits and documents, all relative to national, racial and mission history. We were shown through the building from tower—whence a splendid view over the river is to be had—to cellar. It is well equipped—dormitories, school rooms, chapel, dining room, kitchen, washrooms, storerooms—all suitable and neat and clean. Seventy girls are in attendance. There are not beds for all the children, perhaps not for more than half of them; half of the children sleep upon the floor on mats. This is no special hardship, as they are used to it; in my own opinion they are quite as well off without beds.

The girls form two groups—the large girls dressed in blue and white and the little girls dressed in pink and white. They seem neat and happy. They rendered a program for us which would have done credit to any teaching here at home:

Singing—"He Who Safely Keepeth" School
 Recitation—"The Burden" Miss Jahlmae
 Singing—"Sweet and Low"

Misses Nichols, Gibson, Tucker, Wisner
 Dialogue—"Patience" A class
 Singing—"Wider Than the Ocean" School
 Recitation—"The Echo" A class
 Recitation—"The Hurry Order" Miss Wood
 Singing—"Those Eternal Bowers" School
 Recitation—"Genesis, Chap. XLIX" A class
 Recitation—"The Chambered Nautilus" Miss Wright
 Recitation—"Jephtha's Daughter" Miss Muhlenberg
 Singing—"The Whole Wide World"

It is particularly interesting to see the harmony and friendship here. Some of the girls are Liberians, but there are also native girls from various parts of the country and from various tribes—Golas, Krus, Grebos. We went to the dining room, which had been cleared, and the girls went through with a calisthenic drill, which was beautifully rendered. Mrs. Moort is in charge of the school and deserves much credit for its satisfactory condition. After this drill was over we sat down to a table loaded with good things, and some of the larger girls aided in the serving. One of the aims of the school is to teach work and housekeeping. The school property includes two hundred acres of land, which will supply much of the food needed in school and provide opportunity for instruction in gardening.

The Bishop stated that we must not tarry, as we were expected at Clay-Ashland. A half hour by steamer brought us to its landing, where the resident clergyman, Mr. Cooper, son-in-law of Bishop Ferguson, met us. We walked up through a straggling settlement to the little church, near which a sign in brilliant lettering announced "Welcome." Here we turned to the right and in a moment reached Alexander Crummell Hall,

in construction. Here another brilliant lettering proclaimed "A Hearty Welcome to You." The building is to be of wood with corrugated iron roofing; it is not yet covered in, but promises to be a fine and suitable structure. Only the side verandah was usable; it was covered in and adorned with palms in honor of the occasion. The boys and young men were seated on two lines of benches facing, between which we walked up to the speaker's table. There were perhaps forty students present. They carried through a little program—reading, singing and addresses, all carried through with fine swing and vigor. The address of welcome was given in good English by a Bassa boy. In some interesting and appropriate remarks Major Young spoke to the boys of the life and lesson of Alexander Crummell, in whose honor the hall was named and whom he himself had known. It was now well on in the afternoon and time for us to start on our return journey. This was rapidly accomplished as the current was in our favor and we tied up at the landing in Monrovia at 6:30, with stars twinkling in the sky above us and town lights reflected in the water below.

Bishop Ferguson had invited me to see the Kru service on a Sunday afternoon. Two Kru men called to escort me to the little chapel, which is situated on a rocky slope overhanging Krutown. The native settlement is at the waterside, upon the low sandy beach; its population, houses and life are purely native. Down there they speak Kru; men and boys all know English; some women and girls do. It is a hardy, vigorous, energetic population. The men are water folk; they are splendid canoe men; they are the main dependence of the steamers, which they serve as crews and wharfingers. When we arrived at the little chapel we found it crowded; more than a hundred men, women and children were assembled. The women were a sight for tired eyes, with their brilliant wrappings, gay head bands and ring-loaded fingers. Few Liberians were present—Bishop and Mrs. Ferguson, Superintendent Bright and a few teachers. Pastor McKrae is native—but a Grebo, not a Kru. The two tribes are related and their languages are very similar. I was warmly welcomed and an interesting program of singing and recitation was carried out—all in Kru except the Bishop's introduction and my own remarks, which were interpreted from English into Kru as we spoke. These people are enthusiastic; they are interested in their chapel and contribute to its support; they are crowded in their present quarters and are about to raise a larger and finer building.

I had intended to see the work at Cape Palmas, but it was impossible for me to go there. For that at Bromley, Clay-Ashland and Kru chapel I have only words of praise. My own opinion is that Liberia's greatest asset is the native. He exists in a score of independent tribes and counts a million souls. If the little black republic is to hold its own, if it is to remain a nation among nations, if it is to lead the way to African re-

demption, there must be a mutual realization by Liberians and Natives of their common interest, and a hearty co-operation. The burden is too heavy for the Liberian alone. In Bishop Ferguson's work there is the nearest approach to tolerance, union, brotherhood and mutual helpfulness seen during my expedition.

LIBERIA, THE HOPE OF THE DARK CONTINENT.

(*Unity*. March 20, 1913.)

An address given at All Souls Church, Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, March 9, 1913. As this contains little that is not contained in the next item, and nothing but what occurs in the body of the book, it is not reprinted here.

WHAT LIBERIA NEEDS.

(*The Independent*. April 3, 1913.)

In 1905 I sailed from Antwerp to the mouth of the Kongo River. When we reached Freetown, Sierra Leone, we spent several hours on shore. On returning to the steamer we found all greatly changed; the white crew was laid off and the steamer was swarming with black boys who had been taken on to perform the heavy work of the vessel so long as she should be in the hot country. In the morning I found that these black boys were Krumen from Liberia; they pointed out the shores of their country as we sailed by and told me of their people and their life. The captain of our steamer was an Englishman; he took great satisfaction in telling stories which showed his contempt for the little black republic and its rulers. It was his custom to laugh at their port regulations, to evade their customs laws, to insult their officers. Months later, in returning from the Kongo Free State, I sat at table next to a ship's officer who was never tired of telling of Sir Harry Johnston's great scheme of Liberian exploitation; matters were all arranged for Britain to gain the advantage which the wealth of Liberia offers. When we reached London, I found the windows of book stores filled with Sir Harry's great work upon Liberia, and considerable public interest in the subject.

It was these three things which turned my interest toward Liberia and led me to think of making an expedition to that country. I wanted to see the Kru boys at home; I wanted to see just how much of a failure the black republic is; I wanted to see how the English plans of exploitation worked out. It was, however, several years before I was able to make that

in construction. Here another brilliant lettering proclaimed "A Hearty Welcome to You." The building is to be of wood with corrugated iron roofing; it is not yet covered in, but promises to be a fine and suitable structure. Only the side verandah was usable; it was covered in and adorned with palms in honor of the occasion. The boys and young men were seated on two lines of benches facing, between which we walked up to the speaker's table. There were perhaps forty students present. They carried through a little program—reading, singing and addresses, all carried through with fine swing and vigor. The address of welcome was given in good English by a Bassa boy. In some interesting and appropriate remarks Major Young spoke to the boys of the life and lesson of Alexander Crummell, in whose honor the hall was named and whom he himself had known. It was now well on in the afternoon and time for us to start on our return journey. This was rapidly accomplished as the current was in our favor and we tied up at the landing in Monrovia at 6:30, with stars twinkling in the sky above us and town lights reflected in the water below.

Bishop Ferguson had invited me to see the Kru service on a Sunday afternoon. Two Kru men called to escort me to the little chapel, which is situated on a rocky slope overhanging Krutown. The native settlement is at the waterside, upon the low sandy beach; its population, houses and life are purely native. Down there they speak Kru; men and boys all know English; some women and girls do. It is a hardy, vigorous, energetic population. The men are water folk; they are splendid canoe men; they are the main dependence of the steamers, which they serve as crews and wharfingers. When we arrived at the little chapel we found it crowded; more than a hundred men, women and children were assembled. The women were a sight for tired eyes, with their brilliant wrappings, gay head bands and ring-loaded fingers. Few Liberians were present—Bishop and Mrs. Ferguson, Superintendent Bright and a few teachers. Pastor McKrae is native—but a Grebo, not a Kru. The two tribes are related and their languages are very similar. I was warmly welcomed and an interesting program of singing and recitation was carried out—all in Kru except the Bishop's introduction and my own remarks, which were interpreted from English into Kru as we spoke. These people are enthusiastic; they are interested in their chapel and contribute to its support; they are crowded in their present quarters and are about to raise a larger and finer building.

I had intended to see the work at Cape Palmas, but it was impossible for me to go there. For that at Bromley, Clay-Ashland and Kru chapel I have only words of praise. My own opinion is that Liberia's greatest asset is the native. He exists in a score of independent tribes and counts a million souls. If the little black republic is to hold its own, if it is to remain a nation among nations, if it is to lead the way to African re-

demption, there must be a mutual realization by Liberians and Natives of their common interest, and a hearty co-operation. The burden is too heavy for the Liberian alone. In Bishop Ferguson's work there is the nearest approach to tolerance, union, brotherhood and mutual helpfulness seen during my expedition.

LIBERIA, THE HOPE OF THE DARK CONTINENT.

(*Unity*. March 20, 1913.)

An address given at All Souls Church, Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, March 9, 1913. As this contains little that is not contained in the next item, and nothing but what occurs in the body of the book, it is not reprinted here.

WHAT LIBERIA NEEDS.

(*The Independent*. April 3, 1913.)

In 1905 I sailed from Antwerp to the mouth of the Kongo River. When we reached Freetown, Sierra Leone, we spent several hours on shore. On returning to the steamer we found all greatly changed; the white crew was laid off and the steamer was swarming with black boys who had been taken on to perform the heavy work of the vessel so long as she should be in the hot country. In the morning I found that these black boys were Krumen from Liberia; they pointed out the shores of their country as we sailed by and told me of their people and their life. The captain of our steamer was an Englishman; he took great satisfaction in telling stories which showed his contempt for the little black republic and its rulers. It was his custom to laugh at their port regulations, to evade their customs laws, to insult their officers. Months later, in returning from the Kongo Free State, I sat at table next to a ship's officer who was never tired of telling of Sir Harry Johnston's great scheme of Liberian exploitation; matters were all arranged for Britain to gain the advantage which the wealth of Liberia offers. When we reached London, I found the windows of book stores filled with Sir Harry's great work upon Liberia, and considerable public interest in the subject.

It was these three things which turned my interest toward Liberia and led me to think of making an expedition to that country. I wanted to see the Kru boys at home; I wanted to see just how much of a failure the black republic is; I wanted to see how the English plans of exploitation worked out. It was, however, several years before I was able to make that

journey. I have just returned and found much more of interest than I anticipated.

It is now almost one hundred years since the American Colonization Society was established and sent its first freed negro settlers to the West Coast of Africa; it is almost seventy years since, in 1847, the society severed its relation with the colonists and urged them to establish an independent form of government. We have no right to take any great amount of credit to ourselves for the original establishment; it was less from philanthropy or altruism than from selfishness that we began the colony; it was because we did not want freed blacks living among white Americans that we sent them to Africa. There have been various times during the period of Liberia's history when we might have helped her greatly; we have never quite forgotten our obligations, but we have never done all that we might for her benefit and profit.

It is not fair to establish a direct comparison between Liberia and any European colony upon the West Coast of Africa. It is not just, for instance, to take Dakar or Freetown and compare them with Monrovia. Senegal and Sierra Leone have had great advantages which have been lacking in Liberia. Those colonies have had the constant aid and sympathy of a mother country; they have been developed with the aid of vast home capital; they have had the protection of well organized armies against internal foes and external aggression; they have had chosen men sent out as governors who have given them advice, encouragement, instruction. Liberia has had to stand alone; her population was largely ignorant persons, despised, recently emerged from slavery; she has had no interest of a mother country; she has had no capital with which to push development; she has had no means of protection against native tribes or crowding neighbors; she has had to train governors from her own population, who have had to learn the business of government through personal experience. When this marked difference in opportunity and material is realized, the wonder is that Liberia has been able to make any real achievement. As a matter of fact, while the direct comparison is most unjust, it can be made without serious discredit to Liberia. The standard of living, the average comfort, the construction of houses and other buildings in Liberia, falls little short of those in Freetown, if at all; of course, when it comes to public enterprises—harbor improvements, governmental offices, etc.—the European colony has notable advantage. In reality, Liberian achievement is marvelous in the face of all the difficulties with which the country has had to contend. Far from being a dismal failure, Liberia has proved an astonishing success. For more than sixty years her officers have been pitted against the skilled politicians of European countries; they have had to fight in diplomatic warfare with Great Britain, France and Germany. The wonder is that she was not long since wiped off the map.

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The population of Liberia consists of three main elements: there are about 12,000 civilized and Christian blacks, descendants of American freed negroes, whom we may call Americo-Liberians, or Liberians proper; there are perhaps 30,000 coast natives, who speak English and have come into frequent contact with Liberians and the outside world; there are perhaps one million "natives," living in the interior, "bush niggers," most of whom speak only native tongues and are pagan in religion. The Liberians live in a few settlements near the coast, or along the rivers, a few miles inland. The natives consist of a score or more of different tribes, living in little villages, each tribe having its own language, its independent chiefs, its characteristic life and customs. Sir Harry Johnston says that the interior of Liberia is the least known part of Africa. Many of these native tribes still practice cannibalism, all of them are polygamist, and domestic slavery exists among them. The relation between them and the Liberians proper is almost *nil*. The area of Liberia even now is larger than the State of Ohio and not much less than that of Pennsylvania. If we were to take the town of Bellaire, Ohio, and divide its little population into about a dozen towns along the Ohio River, and were then to sprinkle the whole State of Ohio with villages of Indians, totaling one million, speaking a score of different dialects, and recognizing no control except that of their local chiefs, we should have something analogous to the Liberian situation. If, now, this population of Bellaire were to figure as an independent nation among the world's governments, think what a burden this would entail upon it. Liberia elects a President, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives; its President has a Cabinet, each member with his own department of government; it maintains a Supreme Court, with a bench of judges; it has consuls, some with diplomatic powers, in many of the nations of the world.

REPRINTED ARTICLES.

THE LIBERIAN CRISIS.

(*Unity*. March 25, 1909.)

In closing my *The Truth about the Congo*, I said: "If it is necessary for us as a nation to look for African adventure; if to give a strenuous President the feeling that he is 'doing something' we must meddle in the affairs of the Dark Continent, there is a district where we might intervene with more of reason and consistency and grace than we are doing by going to the Congo. We once established on African soil, whether wisely or not I do not intend to discuss, a free republic for the blacks. In Liberia we have an American enterprise, pure and simple. It has not been a great success. It is just possible—though I doubt it—that Liberia would at several times have profited and been advantaged by our instruction and interest. But it seems to possess little interest for us. Just now, like the Congo, it is attracting British attention. Whether it has large or little value, whether it possesses great opportunities or not, it is now a center of interest to Great Britain. She does not need our help in pulling chestnuts from the fire there, and there has been strange silence and ignorance in this country regarding it as a new sphere for English influence. If we assist England in expanding her African possessions at the expense of the Congo Free State, Liberia will be the next fraction of Africa to succumb to English rule. England's methods of procedure are various. It might be a useful lesson for our statesmen and politicians to study Liberia's prospects with care. We are still young in the business of grabbing other people's lands. England could teach us many lessons. The latest one may well be worthy of our attention, since, in a certain sense, it deals with a district where we naturally possess an interest."

At the time, these suggestions caused some surprise. Americans were (and are) totally ignorant regarding Liberia and felt that my remarks were due to prejudice. I have no prejudice against England, from which my ancestry chiefly came. A few months have proved the truth of my predictions. In May last a Commission appointed by the Liberian government called upon President Roosevelt and begged the intervention of the United States for the purpose of guaranteeing independence and "integrity against the encroachments of powerful Euro-

pean governments." Among the reasonable ideas urged by this Commission was that disputes between Liberia and France, Germany and England should be settled by arbitration and not by a resort to force. We wisely refused to establish a protectorate over Liberia, but our government agreed to use its good offices with England, France and Germany. Considerable correspondence seems to have taken place and some interest relative to Liberia has been aroused. But on the whole no serious progress has been made and a few days since the newspapers contained the following item:

"Washington, D. C., Feb. 12.—Cable advices received at the state department today indicate that a climax has been reached in the Liberian situation. Conditions are grave, and great alarm is felt by foreign officials in Liberian employ.

"A British gunboat has arrived to afford protection to foreign interests and a company of soldiers has been sent from Sierra Leone to the capitol at Monrovia for the same purpose. Apparently great despondency is entertained as to the ability of the government to maintain itself and as to the future of Liberia as a nation."

The notice closed with these words:

"The cable today called attention to the effort of the state department, inaugurated by Secretary Root, to secure an appropriation of \$20,000 to enable the president to send to Liberia a commission with a view to reporting recommendations as to the specific action this government should take which would constitute the most effective measures of relief. Secretary Root anticipated the development of conditions which would menace seriously the future of Liberia, which was established as a direct result of the action, first, of American citizens, and, secondly, of the government of the United States."

What can we do? What should we do? First; we should notify Great Britain, France and Germany that encroachment upon Liberian sovereignty will be considered an unfriendly act by us; that coercion ought not to be used in the collection of debts, even though Liberia did not take part in the Hague Conference of 1907. Second; we should use our good offices to bring about definite arrangements between Liberia and the European nations for arbitration of all points at issue between them. Third; we should under no circumstances attempt to make a model government for her, nor should we insist upon reforms along our lines, but we should appoint an *advisory* commission of thoughtful and well-balanced men, who shall thoroughly investigate conditions and stand ready to give asked advice when needful upon points of importance. This commission should be retained for several years and should be non-partisan. So much we can and should do.

THE NEEDS OF LIBERIA.

(*The Open Court.* March, 1913.)

The situation of Liberia is critical. Her long-troubling boundary questions with Great Britain and France are not permanently settled; they have been re-opened and both countries are pressing.

We did well to come to her financial aid; but we did badly in needlessly inflicting upon her an *expensive* and *complicated* international receivership instead of an *economical, simple* and *national* one.

Liberia's crying needs are:

a. Training of her native frontier force to protect her boundaries and maintain order there;

b. Development of existing trails, with their ultimate transformation into roads and railroad beds;

c. Restoration and development of agriculture—now neglected;

d. Education, especially along lines of manual and technical training.

Liberia's greatest asset is her *native population*; only by imbuing it with the feeling of common interest and by securing its hearty co-operation can the government of Africa's only republic hope to maintain itself and prosper.

A SOJOURNER IN LIBERIA.

(*The Spirit of Missions.* April, 1913.)

Anxious to see all possible of Liberia, we gladly accepted Bishop Ferguson's invitation to visit Bromley and to inspect the work done at the Julia C. Emery Hall. On reaching the landing at Monrovia at 8 a. m. we found the mission steamer, the *John Payne*, ready. Our party consisted of ex-President Barclay, ex-Postmaster-General Blount, Justice T. McCants Stewart of the Supreme Court, Major Young, U. S. A., military attaché of the American Legation, Mayor Johnson, the Rev. Mr. Cassell and Bishop Ferguson—all residents of Liberia—my photographer and myself. He and I were the only white men. Of the colored men some were born in Liberia, others in the United States—North and South—one at least in the British West Indies. Ex-President Arthur Barclay is by many considered to be the ablest man of Liberia; he has had a wide experience and has gained exceptional knowledge of Liberian needs and problems. Mayor Johnson is one of the sons of the late President Johnson, who was the first "son of the soil" to occupy the presidential chair of the negro republic. Bishop Ferguson, born in South Carolina, has lived so many years in Cape Palmas and Monrovia that no one ever thinks of him as

aught but a Liberian. He is a man of energy and ideas and his work speaks for his efficiency. We were soon off, and for three hours steamed up the river, a typical, tropical African stream. A dense tangle of mangroves extends far out from the shore on both sides, over the water, completely concealing the actual land; the trunks rise from pyramids of exposed roots; from the branches, slender shoots, round-tipped, strike vertically down, penetrate the water, force their way into the soft, oozy mud of the river bottom, take root and aid in spreading the tangled growth still further out over the water. Here and there straight gashes are cut into this mass of crowded trees to serve as landing-channels for native canoes. The first part of our journey was up a branch stream, the St. Paul's River branching near its mouth and entering the sea by more than the single outlet. As we approached the main river, the mangrove thicket thinned, and the most striking feature in the vegetation was the dragon-palm. It, too, rises from a pyramidal mass of exposed roots, but in form and foliage it is totally unlike the mangrove; its long narrow leaves lead to its being often called the sword-palm. Here we could often look back over the land, and saw oil-palms with their delicate, graceful crowns outlined against the blue sky—truly blue sky, for by October 15 the period of rains is practically over. We had passed settlements, here and there, upon the way; single houses of "Liberians," or little clusters of "native" huts; New Georgia, on our right, is quite a village but seems to bear an indifferent reputation—due perhaps to its history; it was settled with slaves rescued from slaving-vessels and such slaves were rarely considered as equals, in the old days, by the colonists.

When we reached the main river, the whole character of the scenery changed. The river itself was wider; the banks were cleaner and the flat land stood higher; the mangrove swamps disappeared; plantations showing considerable attention were to be seen here and there. While we had chatted and viewed the scene the Bishop had not been idle, and the smiling black boy now passed an abundant supply of sandwiches and sliced cake, daintily wrapped in paper and tied with narrow ribbons, all prepared beforehand by Mrs. Ferguson. Served with lemon and strawberry soda-water they were a welcome refreshment.

We had been so fully occupied that we had hardly noticed that three hours had passed when we saw Bromley ahead. The building stands on a level terrace well above the river. It is said to be the largest in Liberia; whether so or not, it is a spacious, plain, well-built construction, admirably adapted to its purpose. Its architect and master builder, Mr. Scott, met us at the landing. He is a native of pure blood, a Grebo from Cape Palmas district. He has never been outside of Liberia and has had to gain his knowledge and experience as he best could. He has had correspondence instruction from an American school and finds it of advantage.

The building is known as the Julia C. Emery Hall and serves as a girls' school. The parlor is a fine room and upon its walls are displayed interesting cuts, portraits and documents, all relative to national, racial and mission history. We were shown through the building from tower—whence a splendid view over the river is to be had—to cellar. It is well equipped—dormitories, school rooms, chapel, dining room, kitchen, washrooms, storerooms—all suitable and neat and clean. Seventy girls are in attendance. There are not beds for all the children, perhaps not for more than half of them; half of the children sleep upon the floor on mats. This is no special hardship, as they are used to it; in my own opinion they are quite as well off without beds.

The girls form two groups—the large girls dressed in blue and white and the little girls dressed in pink and white. They seem neat and happy. They rendered a program for us which would have done credit to any teaching here at home:

Singing—"He Who Safely Keepeth" School
 Recitation—"The Burden" Miss Jahlmae
 Singing—"Sweet and Low"

Misses Nichols, Gibson, Tucker, Wisner
 Dialogue—"Patience" A class
 Singing—"Wider Than the Ocean" School
 Recitation—"The Echo" A class
 Recitation—"The Hurry Order" Miss Wood
 Singing—"Those Eternal Bowers" School
 Recitation—"Genesis, Chap. XLIX" A class
 Recitation—"The Chambered Nautilus" Miss Wright
 Recitation—"Jephtha's Daughter" Miss Muhlenberg
 Singing—"The Whole Wide World" School

It is particularly interesting to see the harmony and friendship here. Some of the girls are Liberians, but there are also native girls from various parts of the country and from various tribes—Golas, Krus, Grebos. We went to the dining room, which had been cleared, and the girls went through with a calisthenic drill, which was beautifully rendered. Mrs. Moort is in charge of the school and deserves much credit for its satisfactory condition. After this drill was over we sat down to a table loaded with good things, and some of the larger girls aided in the serving. One of the aims of the school is to teach work and housekeeping. The school property includes two hundred acres of land, which will supply much of the food needed in school and provide opportunity for instruction in gardening.

The Bishop stated that we must not tarry, as we were expected at Clay-Ashland. A half hour by steamer brought us to its landing, where the resident clergyman, Mr. Cooper, son-in-law of Bishop Ferguson, met us. We walked up through a straggling settlement to the little church, near which a sign in brilliant lettering announced "Welcome." Here we turned to the right and in a moment reached Alexander Crummell Hall,

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Would we be able in any town of 12,000 people in the United States to find such a corps of men of competence? As a nation, with privileges and obligations, Liberia must not only maintain this national government, but it must keep order over its whole area and prevent its million bush natives from troubling its neighbors. It is on the plea that Liberia is incapable of maintaining order that France and Great Britain are constantly crowding upon her frontiers; it is a fact that to prevent aggression from outside she must maintain order within.

We must not imagine that neighborly aggression has ceased because we spoke. New boundary questions have lately arisen, both with Great Britain and France, and it looks as if they were getting ready to demand a new slice of territory. One of the crying needs of Liberia is to have a native frontier force, well drilled, ready to protect and maintain order at her boundary. Such a force has been organized; it has been in existence for several years; just at present it is being drilled under three young colored officers whom we have sent within the past year to Monrovia—Major Ballard, Captain Brown and Captain Newton. These men now bear commissions from the Liberian Government and are paid by it. The force will be developed to 600 soldiers; it is rather easy to collect them; they come from many of the interior tribes and, when they are enlisted, know no English; they seem to enjoy the life of soldiers and rapidly improve until in their conduct and drilling they present a creditable appearance. When actually disciplined, so that they will not loot or cause distress when marching through a district of non-combatants, they should be a great advantage to the nation. Unfortunately, the Liberian Government is frequently in financial difficulties and the pay of these soldiers falls into arrears. There is always serious danger that, under such circumstances, the discontented force may arise against the Government and cause difficulties.

We did well to come to the financial relief of Liberia, but we did badly in the details of our method. The total debts were about \$1,300,000: we arranged for a loan to her of \$1,700,000; this would enable her to pay off all obligations, to have some ready funds left over, and to have a single, friendly creditor. Before securing this loan we insisted upon a receivership. It would have been a simple matter for us to have simply appointed a receiver of customs and leave the administration of affairs in his hands, as we did in Santo Domingo. Had we done so, it is unlikely that any other nation would have found fault; if any nation should have criticised the action, we could with consistency insist that we stand in a peculiar relation to Liberia and that the loan is too small to warrant great expense in the handling of the business connected with it. What we really did was to recognize fictitious interests of other nations in the matter; we arranged for an international receivership; instead of one American receiver we proposed four receivers—American,

French, English, German. Inasmuch as the impoverished Government has to pay handsome salaries to all four, the plan was anything but economical; the dangers of difficulty and disagreement between the members of this international receivership are considerable. Surely instead of inflicting an expensive and complicated international receivership upon the country, we should have arranged for an economical, simple national receiver.

There is no question that Liberia has great natural wealth; her resources are yet almost untouched; she is the only part of the whole West Coast where large returns are certain for small investment. In order to secure her wealth of products, it is absolutely necessary that trails be opened up through the interior. Trails, of course, already exist, but under present conditions they are frequently intentionally neglected; little chiefs do not want too easy contact with the outside world. It is absolutely necessary, if Liberia is to advance, that the good will of the chiefs shall be secured and that all trails shall be kept open. In no other way can the produce of the forests find its way down to the coast. Foot trails, of course, are of limited utility, and as rapidly as they are improved they should become actual roads, presumably to be themselves developed in time into roadbeds for light railroads. It is only by the improvement of means of transportation that the Liberian Government can hope to increase its income, which comes almost entirely from trade.

For the present, and undoubtedly for some time to come, the chief source of income for the country must be by trade in natural products, collected in the forests. It is time, however, that serious effort should be made to develop the actual agricultural opportunities of Liberia. With a rich soil, abundant rainfall, tropical temperature, vegetation flourishes. Liberia should produce vast quantities of rice, corn, cotton, sugar, sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, plantains, ginger, coffee, cocoa, pineapples and other tropical fruits. There is no reason why in many parts of the country cattle, goats and sheep should not be raised in quantities. At present, a very large amount of food-stuffs is introduced from the outside world; fresh meat is to be had only when steamers pass; rice, even—of which the natives raise quantities—is imported. Formerly considerable coffee was exported; the coffee tree grows wild and is probably a native of the country, and Liberian coffee has a fair reputation in the foreign market; at present, very little is exported. It is curious that agriculture has never been a favorite occupation with the people. As long ago as 1826 and 1827 the famous agent of the colony, Jehudi Ashmun, complained bitterly that the people all desired to trade instead of to practice hand labor and develop agriculture. It is certain that if it is to be permanently prosperous, Liberia must encourage agricultural pursuits. It was natural enough that freed slaves should look upon manual trades

and field labor as contemptible; that they should look upon barter and trade as desirable. Unfortunately, at the time of colonization it was easy for men to trade. This dislike for actual labor continues to the present day; it is possible to hire bush natives to do the absolutely necessary heavy labor very cheaply. In Liberian houses great numbers of native servants are employed. Trade and politics absorb the thought and time of the best men in the community. It is going to be a difficult task to place agriculture and hand labor upon a proper footing, but it must be done and soon.

We must not expect much more in the direction of education than we would find in our own country towns of six or seven thousand people. There are actually not many schools in the republic. The superintendent of education is a member of the Cabinet. The present incumbent is a native—a Bassa. He has general supervision of some ninety-one schools, in which number night schools and mission schools are included. The highest institution of public education is Liberia College, at Monrovia. It has done good work and most of the men of prominence in the Government to-day are graduates from it. It has, however, little more than the teaching force and equipment of a high school in one of our smaller towns. It needs strengthening in every way. New schools should be established, especially in the country among the native tribes, and special schools of agriculture and manual training are a crying need. President Howard, in his inaugural address in 1912, recognized the necessity of prompt development in education and agriculture. Besides Liberia College, there is in Monrovia the College of West Africa. This is a Methodist mission school, doing an excellent work for both Liberian and native students. There are also important Episcopal schools on the St. Paul's River, and in the neighborhood of Cape Palmas.

The President of the republic was kind enough to give a reception in my honor. On that occasion I was asked to make a few remarks regarding Liberia. I stated that in my opinion Liberia's greatest asset is her native population. Twelve thousand people, no matter how interested, wise and industrious, cannot possibly carry the entire burden. If Liberia is to prosper in the future, it can only be because the Liberians secure the hearty coöperation and friendly feeling of the million natives. If *they* can be shown that their interest and development are to be gained only through friendship to and recognition of the Government, the prosperity and success of Liberia may be secured and her independence maintained.

SHOULD THE AFRICAN MISSION BE ABANDONED.

(*The Spirit of Missions*. August, 1913.)

The development of the Church mission in Liberia has been most encouraging. It began in March, 1836, when James M. Thompson, a colored man, opened a mission school at Mount Vaughan with seven native children. It has grown until, in his last report, Bishop Ferguson stated that there were 26 clergymen, 8 candidates for holy orders, 2 postulants, 25 lay teachers, and 46 catechists and teachers. During the year of 1912, 242 children and 237 adults had been baptized—423 of them being converts from heathenism. During the year there were 165 confirmations. The grand total of baptisms to date was 9,565; the total of confirmations, 4,856. The number of present communicants was 2,404, of which two-thirds were natives. The estimated value of buildings belonging to the mission was \$121,250; 22 day schools, 19 boarding schools and 38 Sunday schools was conducted; 1,210 day-school pupils, 643 boarding-school pupils, 2,714 Sunday-school pupils were in attendance. It is a noble record of results for faithful service.

It has been suggested in some quarters that the American Protestant Episcopal Church shall abandon this promising mission field; or rather it is proposed that it shall exchange this successful and flourishing work with English brethren, for work started by them in Central America. It is possible that from the point of view of church administration such an exchange may be desirable; it is certain that from any other point of view it will be a great misfortune. The writer of this article has himself been in Liberia, and is profoundly interested in Liberian problems. He believes that any proposal to abandon work in Liberia could only arise through ignorance of the actual conditions in the Black Republic. He has no wish to interfere in affairs which in no wise concern himself. Deeply interested, however, in the progress of the only remaining country of Africa which is administered by black men, he desires to express his reasons for opposing the suggestion.

It is now seventy-seven years since the Liberian work was begun. It has been wisely directed, it has been nobly supported, it has been successful. Surely the ultimate aim in all such labor is to produce a self-supporting church in the mission field. The Liberian Church is already approaching the point of self-support. In his last report Bishop Ferguson says: "I believe the greatest joy of my life would be to be able to say to the Board of Missions, 'The Church in Liberia will hereafter support itself. You need not appropriate any more funds towards its maintenance.' That I am unable to do so as yet is not because of an indisposition on the part of the people to contribute to such a worthy object, but rather because of their poverty, through not having learnt to work profitably. It must be

remembered that two-thirds of our communicants are native Africans who, as well as the majority of the class we call 'Americo-Liberians' making up the one-third, need to be trained in some remunerative industry. The fact is, that the financial burden of the Church in the district is resting on a comparatively small number. Taking this into consideration, the amount raised from time to time for the building, repairing, and improving of churches, and to meet other parochial expenses is rather creditable than otherwise. Besides expenses at home, they contribute annually toward missions in general in the shape of Lenten and Easter offerings and the missionary apportionment fund. Our quota of the last named has already been paid up for the present year. But as above shown, comparatively few deserve the credit. To make the work self-supporting, at least a majority of the members should be able to contribute to it."

Certainly, it is a basic error to abandon a work which has been conducted for seventy-seven years, when it approaches the point of self-support. A change subjecting the mission to a new administration, would mean setback and delay in gaining the end desired.

The American Church is bound in a special way to Liberia; the original settlers in Liberia were American freed-men; they had been our slaves. As Americans we had been responsible for the dragging of thousands of helpless black people from their homes; we had held them for years in captivity. When finally we sent them back as freed-men to the shores of their native continent, our obligations by no means ceased.

When Bishop Lee preached the sermon at the consecration of Bishop Ferguson, he used the following strong terms: "To the millions of this race among ourselves, as well as to those beyond the sea, we should count ourselves debtors. If any branch of the evangelistic work of our Church has peculiar and sacred claims to general support, it seems to me to be our African Mission as well as our home Mission among our colored people. With glad and ready hearts should we enter this open door. With free and unclosed hands should we pour our gifts into the Lord's treasury. And when we read with averted eye the shocking details of former injustice and inhumanity, well may we thank God that He has shown us a way in which we may send back to those sunny climes a benefaction, the value of which cannot be told."

In 1893 Dr. Langford, General Secretary of the Board of Missions, said: "The lapse of time does not lighten by a shade the deep damnation of its curse. If America were to pay a million dollars a year for fifty years, it would not suffice to cancel a tithe of her debt to Africa."

England has no such duty nor obligation to Liberia; she cannot be expected to take the same legitimate interest in that mission. Nor have the Missions of Central America anything

like the same claim upon the interest and sympathy of the American Church as has Liberia. Nothing but blindness to the seriousness of our obligation could lead us to make the exchange.

It is true that the United States has at no time shown the hearty interest in, and sympathy with Liberia which she should have. It is, however, true that, as a result of all the past, the civilized Liberians are to-day far more American in spirit than English. The Liberians are different in their bearing and manner from all other blacks upon the coast of West Africa. This is not merely a personal claim. Travelers, ever since the early days of colonization, are united in their statements: the Liberian is more independent—he is more a man—than the black man in any of the European colonies. This spirit has been frequently criticised; it is no advantage to colonizing nations to encounter black men of spirit and independence; such are a bad example to colonial subjects. But, if Liberia is to remain a nation, this spirit of independence must be maintained. The transfer of this mission to England would dampen enthusiasm; it would check the independent spirit; it would introduce the element of weakness. No one who has seen the blacks of Freetown can fail to grasp my meaning. The attitude of the Englishman toward colored peoples may be fairly fair and just, but it is repressive. In the nature of things, administration of the Liberian Church by British leaders would necessarily lead to irritation and assumption of superiority on the one side and subservience upon the other; there would be less of self-respect and independence. If the Church held its own in numbers, it would be through the loss of its most desirable members and their replacement by people of less strong character.

The work of the Protestant Episcopal Church is not the only mission work within the limits of Liberia. There are also missions, more or less active, conducted by the Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal, Baptist, Lutheran and Presbyterian denominations. If these mission efforts are to be successful there must be fellow feeling between the different missions; harmony and unity should be the order of the day. We regret that there has not always been the most harmonious relations between the different branches of Christian efforts in the Republic. Surely, however, every mission there established should do its utmost toward harmony; surely it should be the policy of each separate mission to do nothing which could interrupt or destroy harmonious relations. But all these other mission efforts in Liberia are in American hands; the transfer of the Church mission to English hands would be certain, under the political and social conditions of the country, to introduce friction and enmity which would be destructive beyond the possibility of calculation. From the point of view of Christian harmony it would be a blunder to transfer the mission.

I believe that Liberia may have an important influence in solving our Negro problem. It is doubtful whether we shall

send a large number of emigrants from our southern states to the Republic; it is likely that a small migration will constantly take place from us to Africa. But it is of the utmost consequence both to Liberia and to our American black people that there be intimate relations between the two regions. It is desirable that many black men from America should visit and know Liberia; it is most important that Liberians should find it easy to come to America and see our institutions. In this easy contact and intimate relation there is certainly ease for our black man's troubles. Everything which cultivates close, frequent, repeated and continued contact will help us as much as it helps them. We ought, then, at least, to think a long time before we sever any connection already established.

In view of these conditions and tendencies, it seems to me that the proposed exchange would be a serious blunder. Motives of economy and ease of administration cannot excuse it. Duty, honor, enlightened patriotism, demand that the American Church continue to carry the Liberian mission until such time as it may become self-supporting.

THE PEOPLE OF LIBERIA.

(The Independent. August 14, 1913.)

There is no question that ultimately Liberia must depend upon her native population; the native tribes are the chief asset of the black republic. If it is to make progress in the future, there must be hearty coöperation between the "Liberian" and the "native." The native must be aroused to realize that his interest is the same as that of the Liberian; he must realize that his country is the Liberian's country; he must learn to know and to carry his part of the common burden. This is going to be a difficult lesson for both to learn. From the very beginning of the colony to the present time, the attitude of the newcomer toward the native has been that of a superior to an inferior being. It is and always has been the custom for Liberians to speak of themselves as "white men," while they have considered the natives "bush niggers." The Liberian has never indulged to any extent in manual labor; he has done but little even in agricultural work. The native has always been considered the natural laborer of the country; socially an inferior, he has been despised and neglected. He has done the heavy work, he has brought in the produce of "the bush," he has been the house servant. While he has rarely been treated with cruelty, he has been looked upon with contempt. There is no doubt that, in the future, the native will continue to be the chief laborer of the country; something of prejudice must be expected to continue; but conditions ought to be such that it will be easy for a bright native boy to emerge from his own status and play his part in the mutual progress.

Under the circumstances, every individual case of a Liberian native who has gained a position of consequence in the community has special significance and importance. One of the encouraging facts in present day Liberia is that a considerable number of natives are occupying positions of influence and power in their community. At the present time a member of the Cabinet is a native of pure blood. The Secretary of Public Instruction, in charge of the educational system of the republic, is a Bassa; he is one of "Miss Sharp's boys"—and does credit to her efforts. While the educational development of Liberia leaves much to be desired, he has ninety-one schools (including night schools) under his direction.

Another native who has gained position, reputation and influence is Abayomi Wilfrid Karna, the son of a Kongo man, which means that he has risen against more serious difficulties than face the usual native of the country. The population of Liberia consists actually of three different classes of black men; first, the descendants of American or English freedmen; second, the actual natives of the country; third, descendants of recaptured slaves—very commonly included under the general term of "Kongo men." The last mentioned people had been bought by slavers, taken on board slave vessels, and were being taken to Cuba or South America for sale when they were captured by British or American warships, taken to Liberia, and dumped upon the colony for care and raising. They have always been looked upon with contempt by both Liberians and natives, and for a Kongo man to rise indicates energy and natural ability. Mr. Karna has been a school teacher and is now a practising lawyer; he is at present a member of the House of Representatives and is active in public affairs.

Another conspicuous native success is Luke B. Anthony, a Bassa. He received his early training under the Presbyterian missionaries and attended Lincoln University, in Pennsylvania. At one time he had high hope of conducting schools for his own people, but this hope vanished with the discontinuance of mission effort on the part of the board with which he has been interested. He loves his people and a year ago gave the commencement address at Liberia College upon the subject of "Bassa Traditions." While in the United States he received medical training and is a successful physician. At present he is professor of mathematics in Liberia College and a teacher of considerable ability and force.

One of the most interesting of the Liberian natives who are playing a part in public life is Momolu Massaquoi. He represents the Vai people, one of the most important, enterprising and progressive of the score or so of native tribes in the republic. The Vai are a Mohammedan population and stand alone among African negroes in having in common daily use a system of writing with characters invented long ago by one of their own tribe. Mr. Massaquoi was an hereditary chief among his people.

While still young he became a Christian, found his way to the United States, and gained part of his education in this country. After returning to Liberia he was paramount chief among his people for a period of ten years. He now lives in Monrovia, where he occupies the position of chief clerk in the Department of the Interior. He is now preparing text-books in Vai for use among his people.

The number of pure blood natives among the Liberian clergy must be considerable. Some of these, like the Rev. F. A. Russell, of Grand Bassa, minister to mixed congregations, with both Liberian and native members. Other native clergymen have charge of definite mission work among the natives. Thus, Rev. McKrae is in charge of the Kru chapel (Episcopalian) in Monrovia. The Kru and Grebo are close kin, both in speech and blood. In connection with such mission effort we are naturally reminded of Mr. Scott, a full-blooded Grebo, who is the architect and superintendent of construction of the Bromley School for Girls, situated upon the St. Paul's River about three hours by steamer from Monrovia; it is said to be the largest building in Liberia. Mr. Scott has had no instruction in the builder's trade beyond what he has picked up practically and through a course of instruction received from America by correspondence.

These are a few examples of native men who are doing something to help Liberians to solve their problems. There must be a considerable number of such. There is, however, another class of men who are helping in the advancement of the country, though in quite a different way. Those whom we have mentioned have practically severed themselves from the native life; they are living among Liberians and taking active part with them. Thomas Lewis, a Bassa, living in Grand Bassa, where his house, newly built, is one of the finest in the town, is a native of the natives. His father was a local king; Thomas was one of about a hundred children. Through missionary effort he gained the rudiments of education; coming then to the United States, he studied in various cities, finally taking his advanced work in Syracuse University. While there he devised a system of writing the Bassa language, which, like the system long in use among the Vai, consists of a series of phonetic characters standing for syllables. While in Syracuse he had a primer printed in the new characters for teaching Bassa children to read. Having studied medicine, he became a practising physician on his return to his own country. He has large influence with the primitive Bassa, and not infrequently is called upon by the Government to exert this in its behalf. He has taught a number of Bassa boys his system and takes great pride in their ability to write and read their language with his characters.

Living in the same neighborhood with Dr. Lewis is Jacob Logan. His father was a Liberian, his mother a Bassa; his father represented a class of which we hear much in the writings of authors who criticize Liberian affairs—civilized Liberians who relapse. He lived the native life and his son Jacob was

brought up amid purely native surroundings. Jacob Logan today speaks excellent English, writes and reads the language perfectly well, knows Liberia and the outside world, having been to Europe. Yet he maintains the state of a native chief. He has an excellent house, which he calls "Native Vindicator's House;" he is legally married to one wife, but has the reputation of maintaining a considerable body of native women; he has a quantity of dependents, known everywhere as "Jacob Logan's boys." They work for him, and when they hire out to others he receives their wages; they are subject to his orders; they live in his house or on his property until married; after they are married they still retain relations with him. On his part Jacob owes them advice, shelter, direction, assistance; when they wish to marry he provides the money, for they must pay for wives; if they are in trouble he must help them; if they get into legal difficulty he must pay their fines. These two men are representative, no doubt, of a large class. They have great influence and it certainly is to the advantage of Government that their influence be utilized in its favor. If they are well informed in regard to governmental policy and favorable to it, they can do much.

Is it desirable that Liberians and natives intermarry? It is certain that the native endures the climate better than the newcomers; it is true that he has far more energy, vigor, enterprise—in case his interest is once aroused. There can be no question that close breeding among the little handful of Liberians is fraught with danger; mixture with the native stock would give, in many cases, good results. There is always, of course, the danger in such mixed marriages of relapse to barbarism. The Liberian who marries a native woman might lead an easy life among her people in the bush. This danger is a real one and needs to be avoided.

It is only five minutes' walk from the heart of Liberian Monrovia to the center of Krutown on the beach. It is a purely native town; most of the houses are true Kru houses, with thatched roofs and matting sides. The streets are narrow, the houses crowded, the people swarm. The Kru have force and vigor; they are splendid canoe-men and fishers; they are the chief dependence of coast commerce, loading and unloading the steamer cargoes. The men and boys almost all know English, some have a smattering of French or German; the women confine themselves largely to their native language, though girls in school all learn English. The Kru are workers; they like activity. There are schools in Krutown, but the Kru boys, after they have finished their studies in them, go up to the College of West Africa, in Monrovia. This is a mission school, supported by the Methodists, in which all the teachers are colored; most of them Americans.

One day I visited the class in arithmetic, consisting of about thirty scholars. Sitting in the midst of them, when a lull

came, I said to my nearest neighbor, "But you are a native boy?" "Yes, sir; we are many of us native boys. *He* is a native, and *he*, and *he*, and *he*." In fact, I was surrounded by natives, Kru boys. "Well," I asked, "and how do you native boys do in your classes?" "We do better than *they* do, sir," he said. "Do you, indeed?" said I; "it would sound better if some one else said that; but how is it so?" "I can't help it, sir; we do better *anyway*; we love our country better than they do, too." However that may be, it is certain that these Kru boys will outrun the Liberians unless the latter are careful. No one else in all Liberia is so anxious to learn as they.

It is interesting how generally they look toward us for education. One who called upon me one afternoon told me that a Kru boy had started for America only the week before. He told me, then, that he himself was one of five boys in their town and school who had agreed together that, in some way or other, they should get to America for education. They will do it, too. They earn good money from the steamers and know how to save; after they had been hired two or three times for a coasting voyage they make friends with steamer officers and have no trouble in being taken to Antwerp, or Rotterdam, or Hamburg, earning something more than passage by their work. If they can work their way from Hamburg to New York they are glad to do so, but most of them realize that that is an uncertain chance and start out either with cash upon their person or a little ivory for sale to provide resources beyond Hamburg.

There has been considerable discussion in regard to the location of Liberia College. Should it remain at the capital, Monrovia? Or should it be transferred to some point in the interior? Just now there is so much talk about manual training and agricultural instruction that there has been considerable effort made to change the character of the school and to place it at some point in the interior. I believe that Liberia College ought to remain in Monrovia; it should continue to be an institution of higher education—cultural in character. To locate it at any point in the interior would be to confine its field and value to a single district and a single tribe. There are perhaps a score of native tribes in Liberia, each with its own language, its own territory, its own customs, its own chiefs. Between the tribes there is little contact and no bond of interest. To put Liberia College into the interior would benefit perhaps a single tribe. Other tribes would not patronize it—they would look upon it as of no value or interest to them. What is needed is the establishment of a good central school within the area of *each* native tribe. It should give thorough *rudimentary* instruction. It should serve as a feeder to Liberia College; its best men, those who become interested and are ambitious, would go up to the capital for further study. There they would

meet representatives of all the other tribes sent up from the other local schools. A wholesome rivalry would rise between them; tribal spirit would be maintained, but acquaintanceship and respect for others would be wholesomely developed; in Monrovia, the capital city, they would be made to feel a national interest and develop affection for their common government. In such a system only can the elevation of the whole people and a genuine coöperation be developed.

Manual training and agricultural instruction are of high importance, but form a question by themselves.

APPENDICES

LEADING EVENTS IN LIBERIAN HISTORY

- 1777 Virginia Legislative Committee (Thomas Jefferson, Chn.) to devise scheme.
- 1816 December 23. Virginia asked United States to secure a territory.
Similar plans by Maryland, Tennessee and Georgia.
- December 21. Colonization Society considered.
- 1818 Society organized with Judge Washington as President.
- February 2. Two agents sailed from London for Sierra Leone.
- Interview with King Sherbro. Burgess and Mills.
- October 22. Burgess reached United States; Mills dead.
- 1819 March 3. Congress determined to unite with Society.
- Samuel Bacon and John P. Bankson—agents.
- 1820 February. The Elizabeth sailed: Agent Crozier and 88 colonists.
- Three agents and twenty colonists dead; Daniel Coker and others at Sherbro Island.
- To Sierra Leone.
- 1821 March. Andrus and Wiltberger (Soc.), Winn and E. Bacon (U. S.).
- Cape Mesurado=Montserrado. Failure. Bacon returned; Andrus and Winn dead. Wiltberger remained in Africa.
- To Sierra Leone.
- Fall. Dr. Ayres (Soc.) to Sierra Leone: Then by *Alligator* (Capt. Stockton) to Cape Mesurado.
- Ayres and Stockton—King Peter and five chiefs. Buy land for \$300.
- Differences; but colonists persevere.
- Wreck palaver: Boatswain's intervention.
- 1822 June 4. Dr. Ayres sailed; colonist in charge.
- July. Final removal to mainland.
- August 8. Jehudi Ashmun arrived. (Landing 8th to 14th.)
18. Martello tower begun.
31. Night watch established.
- September 1. King George removed his town.
15. Mrs. Ashmun died; only one person well.

- November 7. Notice of planned attack.
 11. Battle.
 22. Parley.
 23. Day of humiliation, thanksgiving and prayer.
 29. Capt. Brassey's visit.
- December 1. Second battle.
 2. Night cannonading; *Prince Regent* (Capt. Laing); Midshipman Gordon and men remain.
 8. Columbian schooner; (Capt. Wesley).
- 1823 March 15. Remaining five children returned by natives.
- 1823 March 31. U. S. S. *Cyane* (Capt. Spencer).
 April 21. Richard Seaton remained: died in June.
 May 24. Oswego arrived: Dr. Ayres and 61 colonists.
 Intrigue and rebellion rife.
 December; Dr. Ayres left.
- 1824 February 20. Liberia, Monrovia,—official names.
 March 22. Ashmun farewell address; April 1 embarked for Islands.
 July 24. Ashmun-Gurley meeting on *Porpoise*; Ashmun returns with him.
 August 13. Gurley and Ashmun reach Monrovia: Gurley there until August 22. New plan of government drawn.
- 1825 New lands acquired; Grand Bassa, New Cess.
- 1826 New lands acquired; Cape Mount, Junk River.
 Trade Town war.
- 1827 August 27. The Norfolk, with 142 recaptured slaves.
- 1828 March 25. Ashmun left colony.
 August 25. Ashmun died at New Haven, Connecticut.
 October 28. New government adopted.
 Digby incident; trouble with King Bristol; Lott Carey killed by explosion of powder.
 December 22. Richard Randall, new agent, arrived.
- 1829 April 19. Randall died; Dr. Mechlin, agent.
- 1831 James Hall with 31 colonists from the Maryland Colonization Society, stop at Monrovia.
- 1832 Dey-Golah war (Bromley).
- 1833 Edina founded.
 James Hall with 28 colonists; settle at Cape Palmas, "Maryland in Africa."
- 1834 Mechlin to the United States; John B. Pinney succeeded him.
- 1835 Pinney home; Dr. Ezekiel Skinner, agent.
 Pennsylvania Colonization Society; Port Cresson massacre.
- 1836 Anthony D. Williams, agent.
 January. Thomas Buchanan arrived; in charge of Bassa settlements.

- 1837 Gov. I. F. C. Finley arrived; in charge of Mississippi in Africa.
- 1838 Greenville established.
September 10. Gov. Finley murdered.
New Constitution drawn up by Prof. Greenleaf, Harvard College; "Commonwealth of Liberia."
- 1839 A. D. Williams gives up agency; Thomas Buchanan, governor.
Tradetown war.
- 1840 Boporo-Golah war—Gatumba's war: Gen. Roberts.
Difficulty with Rev. John Seyes, in charge of the Methodist Episcopal Mission.
- 1840 English settlement threatens complications.
- 1841 September 3. Gov. Buchanan died. Joseph Jenkin Roberts, governor.
- 1842 France attempts to secure Liberian foothold; Cape Mount, Bassa Cove, Butu, Garawé.
- 1843 February 22. Treaty with Golah.
- 1844-1845 Strengthening of Liberian position, by purchase and treaty.
6% ad valorem duty established; in Maryland as well; agreement between Roberts and Russwurm.
- 1844 Roberts visited the United States; American squadron visited Liberia.
- 1845 The *Little Ben* seized; the *John Seyes* seized from Benson; United States inquiry.
- 1846 January. American Colonization Society decides to grant self-government.
Continued land-purchasing from natives.
Release and "apprenticeship" of slaves.
October 7. Vote on Independence; opposition in Grand Bassa.
- 1847 July 8. Day of Thanksgiving.
26. Declaration of Independence; Constitution.
August 4. Flag hoisted; recognition by Great Britain.
October. Joseph Jenkin Roberts elected president; installed January 3, 1848.
- 1848 England, France, Prussia recognition. President Roberts visited Europe.
- 1849 Roberts re-elected president; Robertsport founded at Cape Mount.
February 26. English treaty ratified.
- 1848 Lord Ashley raised £2,000 for purchasing lands of Matru, Gumbo, Gallhinas, Manna, etc. British admiralty presented *The Lark*.
- 1849 Portugal, Sardinia, Austria, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Brazil, Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, Haiti, recognized republic.
March. New Cesters slavers cleaned up and region annexed.

- September 19. Ralph Gurley arrived at Cape Mount; report printed in 1850.
- 1850 Two German trading houses established; Vai, Dey and Golah quarrelling.
- 1851 British Consul appointed; Mr. Hanson.
 Roberts: third term.
 Edward Wilmot Blyden arrived.
 Interior troubles; Boporo. Grando war at Grand Bassa.
 Native troubles in Maryland.
 Governor Russwurm died; S. M. McGill, governor of Maryland.
- 1852 Roberts visited France and England.
- 1853 Roberts: fourth term.
- 1854 William A. Prout; governor of Maryland.
 October 3. President visited Europe; proposed annexation of Sierra Leone.
- 1856 Stephen Allen Benson, president.
 Napoleon III equipment for 1,000 armed men and the *Hirondelle*.
 J. B. Drayton, governor of Maryland.
 December 22. Cape Palmas battle.
- 1857 January 18. Sheppard Lake disaster, Grebo war.
 February 18. J. J. Roberts and J. F. Gibson signed treaty.
 28. Annexation of Maryland.
 Roberts appointed president of Liberia College.
- 1858 *Begina Coeli* incident.
 Seymore and Ash expedition; (R. G. S. 1860).
- 1860 John Myers Harris' boats seized: rescued by a British gunboat—*The Torch*.
- 1862 Roberts sent to Europe; appointed Belgian consul.
 President Benson in England; question decided.
 Harris' schooners again seized; Monrovia conference;
 Vai and Harris war; Commodore Schufeldt.
 October 22. Treaty with the United States.
- 1864 Daniel Bashiel Warner, president.
- 1865 Ports of Entry Law: Robertsport, Monrovia, Marshall, Grand Bassa, Greenville, Cape Palmas.
 Three hundred West Indian immigrants; A. Barclay.
- 1868 James Spriggs Payne, president.
 Anderson's trip to Musahdu.
- 1870 Edward James Roye, president. Went to England.
 England agrees to Boundary Commission.
 Vai attack Harris; Sierra Leone demands.
- 1871 £100,000 loan placed in England.
 October. President Roye proclaimed term extended; attempted bank seizure.
 —26th. Legislative manifesto.
- 1872 J. J. Roberts again president.
 Paid indemnity of 1869.

- 1874 Anderson's second expedition to Musahdu.
- 1875 Grebo war; natives burned Bunker Hill and Philadelphia (near Harper).
- 1876 James Spriggs Payne, president.
Chigoes introduced.
- 1877 Colonists from Louisiana; mainly along lower St. Paul's R.; some subsequently returned.
- 1878 Revived demand for £8,500 indemnity.
Anthony William Gardner, president.
- 1879 Order of African Redemption founded.
April. Entered International Postal Union.
Sierra Leone boundary commission wrangle.
German steamer *Carlos* wrecked on Nana Kru coast;
Victoria punitive expedition; £900.
- 1879-1887 J. Buttikoper visits Liberia; zoological research.
- 1882 March 20. Sir Arthur Havelock and gunboats; Mafa R. boundary, £8,500 indemnity.
September 7. Sir Arthur Havelock returned.
- 1883 *Corasco* wrecked at Grand Cestos R.; Liberians punished natives.
Senegal wrecked and plundered.
March. Sierra Leone took land up to Mano River
January 20. Gardner resigned; Vice-President A. F. Russell in chair.
- 1884 Hilary Richard Wright Johnson, president.
- 1885 November 11. Boundary dispute settled; Mano R. boundary.
- 1885-1891 Efforts at adjusting loan of 1871.
- 1891 October 26. French claim Cavalla R. boundary.
- 1892 Joseph James Cheeseman, president.
December 8. Cavalla R. boundary accepted, after protest.
- 1893 Third Grebo war.
Kru declaration of adhesion.
- 1896 November. Vice-President William David Coleman takes presidency.
Grebo trouble.
- 1897 German consulate offers protectorate.
- 1898 Liberia admits £70,000 to £80,000 on Loan of 1871.
- 1899 February 10. Hostain's and d'Ollones' expedition; affecting Franco-Liberian boundary.
- 1900 Coleman expedition to subdue interior; resignation.
Garretson Wilmot Gibson, president.
- 1902 French boundary negotiations.
- 1903 French treaty fixing boundary; Liberia paid £4,750.
Anglo-Liberian boundary demarcated; Mano R.; Kanre-Lahun in Liberia.
Missions to chiefs one hundred miles up the Cavalla River, also up the St. Paul's.

- 1904 Arthur Barclay, president.
Congress of kings—Golah, Boporo, Mpesse.
March. Effort to fix French boundary from Tembi Kunda to Cavalla R.
May 19. German Government complains of Liberian judiciary.
August. Changes in Liberian Development Chartered Co.; also in January, 1906.
- 1905 January. Permission given for British force to pacify the Kissi district.
February. President Barclay visited Cape Mount and treated with Vai.
July 27. Vice-President J. D. Summerville died.
- 1906 Arthur Barclay, president.
January 5. Agreement with Liberian Development Co., for a loan of £100,000.
Lomax in Kanre-Lahun district.
- 1907 May 7. Amendment to Constitution lengthening presidential term to four years.
Summer. Commission sent to adjust difficulties with Great Britain and France.
August 29. President Barclay reaches London; Great Britain demands reforms as condition to discussion of disagreement.
September 18. President Barclay yields to French demands and accepts treaty.
Severance of relations between Liberian government and Liberian Development Co.
Tripartite Agreement; Liberia, Erlanger Co., Liberian Development Co.; Liberia takes over responsibility for loan of 1906.
Trouble at River Cess.
- 1908 Arthur Barclay, president; four years term.
January. Major Mackay Cadell appears in Liberia.
January 14. Consul-general Braithwaite Wallis issues reform demand.
British offer to exchange Behlu district for Kanre-Lahun.
May. Liberian Commission bring appeal to the United States.
July. Ex-President W. D. Coleman died at Clay-Ashland.
War-vessel *Lark* purchased for £40,000; British Government presents gun armament worth £1,600.
- 1909 February 11. Mackay Cadell's frontier force in mutiny.
May 8. United States commission of inquiry arrived at Monrovia.
Trouble at River Cess and Grand Bassa.
- 1910 March 21. German cable line opened.
New Cess trouble; Grebo uprising.

- 1911 January. Behlu and Kanre-Lahun exchange consummated; delimitation ordered.
 May. French demand customs control of both sides of Cavalla River.
 September 26. American loan arrangement presented.
 November 1. Free navigation of the Mano R. admitted.
- 1912 January 1-2. Daniel Edward Howard, president; inauguration.
 January 1. Loan went into operation.
 February 7. Edward Wilmot Blyden died.
 Arrival of American military helpers—Major Ballard and Captains Brown and Newton.
 September. Lomax and Cooper trials; acquittals.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN CONVENTION

Town of Monrovia; June and July 1847

We, the representatives of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, in Convention assembled, invested with authority for forming a new government, relying upon the aid and protection of the Great Arbiter of human events, do hereby, in the name and on behalf of the people of this Commonwealth, publish and declare the said Commonwealth a **FREE, SOVEREIGN and INDEPENDENT STATE**, by the name and style of the **REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA**.

While announcing to the nations of the world the new position which the people of this Republic have felt themselves called upon to assume, courtesy to their opinion seems to demand a brief accompanying statement of the causes which induced them, first to expatriate themselves from the land of their nativity and to form settlements on this barbarous coast, and now to organize their government by the assumption of a sovereign and independent character. Therefore we respectfully ask their attention to the following facts:

We recognize in all men, certain natural and inalienable rights: among these are life, liberty, and the right to acquire, possess, enjoy and defend property. By the practice and consent of men in all ages, some system or form of government is proven to be necessary to exercise, enjoy, and secure these rights: and every people has a right to institute a government and to choose and adopt that system or form of it, which, in their opinion, will most effectually accomplish these objects, and secure their happiness, which does not interfere with the just rights of others. The right therefore to institute government, and all the powers necessary to conduct it, is an inalienable right, and cannot be resisted without the grossest injustice.

We, the people of the Republic of Liberia, were originally the inhabitants of the United States of North America.

In some part of that country, we were debarred by law from all the rights and privileges of men—in other parts, public sentiments, more powerful than law frowned us down.

We were every where shut out from all civil office.

We were excluded from all participation in the government.

We were taxed without our consent.

We were compelled to contribute to the resources of a country, which gave us no protection.

We were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue to improvement was effectually closed. Strangers from all lands of a color different from ours, were preferred before us.

We uttered our complaints, but they were unattended to, or met only by alleging the peculiar institution of the country.

All hope of a favorable change in our country was thus wholly extinguished in our bosom, and we looked with anxiety abroad for some asylum from the deep degradation.

The Western coast of Africa was the place selected by American benevolence and philanthropy, for our future home. Removed beyond those influences which depressed us in our native land, it was hoped we would be enabled to enjoy those rights and privileges, and exercise and improve those faculties, which the God of nature has given us in common with the rest of mankind.

Under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, we established ourselves here, on land acquired by purchase from the lords of the soil.

In an original compact with this Society, we for important reasons, delegated to it certain political powers; while this institution stipulated that whenever the people should become capable of conducting the government, or whenever the people should desire it, this institution would resign the delegated power, peaceably withdraw its supervision, and leave the people to the government of themselves.

Under the auspices and guidance of this institution, which has nobly and in perfect faith redeemed its pledges to the people, we have grown and prospered.

From time to time, our number has been increased by migration from America, and by accessions from native tribes; and

from time to time, as circumstances required it, we have extended our borders by acquisition of land by honorable purchase from the natives of the country.

As our territory has extended, and our population increased, our commerce has also increased. The flags of most of the civilized nations of the earth float in our harbors, and their merchants are opening an honorable and profitable trade. Until recently, these visits have been of a uniformly harmonious character, but as they have become more frequent, and to more numerous points of our extending coast, questions have arisen, which it is supposed can be adjusted only by agreement between sovereign powers.

For years past, the American Colonization Society has faithfully withdrawn from all direct and active part in the administration of the Government, except in the appointment of the Governor, who is also a colonist, for the apparent purpose of testing the ability of the people to conduct the affairs of Government; and no complaint of crude legislation, nor mismanagement, nor of mal-administration has yet been heard.

In view of these facts, this institution, the American Colonization Society, with that good faith which has uniformly marked all its dealings with us, did, by a set of resolutions in January, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty Six, dissolve all political connection with the people of this Republic, return the power with which it was delegated, and left the people to the government of themselves.

The people of the Republic of Liberia then, are of right, and in fact, a free sovereign and Independent State, possessed of all the rights, and powers, and functions of government.

In assuming the momentous responsibilities of the position they have taken, the people of this Republic, feel justified by the necessities of the case, and with this conviction they throw themselves, with confidence upon the candid consideration of the civilized world.

Liberia is not the offspring of grasping ambition, nor the tool of avaricious speculation.

No desire for territorial aggrandizement brought us to these shores; nor do we believe so sordid a motive entered into the high consideration of those who aided us in providing this asylum.

Liberia is an asylum from the most grinding oppression.

In coming to the shores of Africa, we indulged the pleasing hope that we should be permitted to exercise and improve those faculties which impart to man his dignity—to nourish in our hearts the flame of honorable ambition, to cherish and indulge those aspirations, which a Beneficent Creator hath implanted in every human heart, and to evince to all who despise, ridicule and oppress our race that we possess with them a common nature, are with them susceptible of equal refinement, and capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man.

We were animated with the hope, that here we should be at liberty to train up our children in the way they should go—to inspire them, with the love of an honorable fame, to kindle within them, the flame of a lofty philanthropy, and to form strong within them, the principles of humanity, virtue and religion.

Among the strongest motives to leave our native land—to abandon forever the scenes of our childhood, and to sever the most endeared connections, was the desire for a retreat where, free from the agitations of fear and molestation, we could, in composure and security, approach in worship the God of our Fathers.

Thus far our highest hopes have been realized.

Liberia is already the happy home of thousands, who were once the doomed victims of oppression; and if left unmolested to go on with her natural and spontaneous growth: if her movements be left free from the paralysing intrigues of jealous ambition and unscrupulous avarice, she will throw open a wider and a wider door for thousands who are now looking with an anxious eye for some land of rest.

Our courts of justice are open equally to the stranger and the citizen, for the redress of grievances, for the remedy of injuries, and for the punishment of crime.

Our numerous and well attended schools attest our efforts, and our desire for the improvement of our children.

Our churches for the worship of our Creator, every where to be seen, bear testimony to our piety, and to our acknowledgement of his Providence.

The native African, bowing down with us before the altar of the living God, declare that from us, feeble as we are, the light of Christianity has gone forth; while upon that curse of curses, the slave trade, a deadly blight has fallen as far as our influence extends.

Therefore, in the name of humanity, and virtue and religion—in the name of the Great God, our common Creator, and our common Judge, we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask of them, that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly consideration, to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us, and to extend to us that comity which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities.

DONE in CONVENTION, at Monrovia, in the County of Montserrado, by the unanimous consent of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, this Twenty-sixth day of July, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-seven. In witness whereof we have hereto set our names.

MONTSERRADO COUNTY,

S. BENEDICT, *President*
H. TEAGE,
ELIJAH JOHNSON,
J. N. LEWIS,
BEVERLY R. WILSON,
J. B. GRIPON.

GRAND BASS COUNTY,

JOHN DAY,
AMOS HERRING,
A. W. GARDNER,
EPHRAIM TITLER.

COUNTY OF SINOE,

R. E. MURRAY.

JACOB W. PROUT,
Secretary of the Convention.

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF
LIBERIA

PREAMBLE

The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it, with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquility, their

natural rights, and the blessings of life; and whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity, and happiness.

Therefore, we the People of the Commonwealth of Liberia, in Africa, acknowledging with devout gratitude, the goodness of God, in granting to us the blessings of the Christian Religion, and political, religious and civil liberty, do, in order to secure these blessings for ourselves and our posterity, and to establish justice, insure domestic peace, and promote the general welfare, hereby solemnly associate, and constitute ourselves a Free, Sovereign and Independent State by the name of the REPUBLIC of LIBERIA, and do ordain and establish this Constitution for the government of the same.

ARTICLE I

BILL OF RIGHTS

SECTION 1. All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and inalienable rights: among which are the rights of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

SECTION 2. All power is inherent in the people; all free governments are instituted by their authority, and for their benefit, and they have the right to alter and reform the same when their safety and happiness require it.

SECTION 3. All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, without obstruction or molestation from others: all persons demeaning themselves peaceably, and not obstructing others in their religious worship, are entitled to the protection of law, in the free exercise of their own religion, and no sect of Christians shall have exclusive privileges or preference over any other sect; but all shall be alike tolerated; and no religious test whatever shall be required as a qualification for civil office, or the exercise of any civil right.

SECTION 4. There shall be no slavery within this Republic. Nor shall any citizen of this Republic, or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic, directly or indirectly.

SECTION 5. The people have a right at all times, in an orderly and peaceable manner to assemble and consult upon the common good, to instruct their representatives, and to peti-

tion the government, or any public functionaries for the redress of grievances.

SECTION 6. Every person injured shall have remedy therefor, by due course of law; justice shall be done without denial or delay; and in all cases, not arising under martial law or upon impeachment, the parties shall have a right to a trial by jury, and to be heard in person or by counsel, or both.

SECTION 7. No persons shall be held to answer for a capital or infamous crime, except in cases of impeachment, cases arising in the army or navy, and petty offences, unless upon presentment by a grand jury; and every person criminally charged shall have a right to be seasonably furnished with a copy of the charge, to be confronted with the witnesses against him,—to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have a speedy, public, and impartial trial by a jury of the vicinity. He shall not be compelled to furnish or give evidence against himself; and no person shall for the same offence be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb.

SECTION 8. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property, or privilege, but by judgment of his peers or the law of the land.

SECTION 9. No place shall be searched, nor person seized on a criminal charge or suspicion, unless upon warrant lawfully issued, upon probable cause supported by oath, or solemn affirmation, specially designating the place or person, and the object of the search.

SECTION 10. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor excessive punishments inflicted. Nor shall the Legislature make any law impairing the obligation of contracts nor any law rendering any acts punishable when it was committed.

SECTION 11. All elections shall be by ballot; and every male citizen of twenty-one years of age, possessing real estate, shall have the right of suffrage.

SECTION 12. The people have a right to keep and bear arms for the common defence and as in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the Legislature; and the military power shall always be held in exact subordination to the civil authority and be governed by it.

SECTION 13. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

SECTION 14. The powers of this government shall be divided into three distinct departments: Legislative, Executive and Judicial, and no person belonging to one of these departments shall exercise any of the powers belonging to either of the other. This section is not to be construed to include Justices of the Peace.

SECTION 15. The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a state; it ought not, therefore to be restrained in this Republic.

The printing press shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the Legislature, or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the rights thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions, is one of the invaluable rights of man, and every citizen may freely speak, write and print, on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

In prosecutions, for the publication of papers, investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence. And in all indictments for libels the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the facts, under the directions of the courts; as in other cases.

SECTION 16. No subsidy, charge, impost, or duties ought to be established, fixed, laid or levied, under any pretext whatsoever, without the consent of the people, or their representatives in the Legislature.

SECTION 17. Suits may be brought against the Republic in such manner, and in such cases as the Legislature may by law direct.

SECTION 18. No person can, in any case, be subject to the law martial, or to any penalties or pains by virtue of that law, (except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service) but by the authority of the Legislature.

SECTION 19. In order to prevent those who are vested with authority, from becoming oppressors, the people have a right at such periods, and in such manner, as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life, and to fill up vacant places, by certain and regular elections and appointments.

SECTION 20. That all prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient sureties; unless, for capital offences, when the proof is

evident, or presumption great; and the privilege and benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall be enjoyed in this Republic, in the most free, easy, cheap, expeditious and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the Legislature, except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a limited time, not exceeding twelve months.

ARTICLE II

LEGISLATIVE POWERS

SECTION 1. That the legislative power shall be vested in a Legislature of Liberia, and shall consist of two separate branches—a House of Representatives and a Senate, to be styled the Legislature of Liberia; each of which shall have a negative on the other, and the enacting style of their acts and laws shall be, "*It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled.*"

SECTION 2. The representatives shall be elected by and for the inhabitants of the several counties of Liberia, and shall be apportioned among the several counties of Liberia, as follows: The county of Montserrado shall have four representatives, the county of Grand Bassa shall have three, and the county of Sinoe shall have one; and all counties hereafter which shall be admitted into the Republic shall have one representative, and for every ten thousand inhabitants one representative shall be added. No person shall be a representative who has not resided in the county two whole years immediately previous to his election and who shall not, when elected be an inhabitant of the county, and does not own real estate of not less value than one hundred and fifty dollars in the county in which he resides, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-three years. The representatives shall be elected biennially, and shall serve two years from the time of their election.

SECTION 3. When a vacancy occurs in the representation of any county by death, resignation, or otherwise, it shall be filled by a new election.

SECTION 4. The House of Representatives shall elect their own Speaker and other officers; they shall also have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 5. The Senate shall consist of two members from Montserrado County, two from Grand Bassa County, two from Sinoe County, and two from each county which may be hereafter incorporated into this Republic. No person shall be a senator who shall not have resided three whole years immediately previous to his election in the Republic of Liberia, and who shall

not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county which he represents, and who does not own real estate of not less value than two hundred dollars in the county which he represents, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years. The senator for each county who shall have the highest number of votes shall retain his seat four years, and the one who shall have the next highest number of votes, two years; and all who are afterwards elected to fill their seats, shall remain in office four years.

SECTION 6. The Senate shall try all impeachments; the senators being first sworn or solemnly affirmed to try the same impartially and according to law; and no person shall be convicted but by the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators present. Judgment, in such cases, shall not extend beyond removal from the office and disqualification to hold an office in the Republic; but the party may be tried at law for the same offense. When either the President or Vice-President is to be tried, the Chief Justice shall preside.

SECTION 7. It shall be the duty of the Legislature as soon as conveniently may be, after the adoption of this Constitution, and once at least in every ten years afterwards, to cause a true census to be taken of each town and county of the Republic of Liberia; and a representative shall be allowed every town having a population of ten thousand inhabitants; and for every additional ten thousand in the counties after the first census one representative shall be added to that county, until the number of representatives shall amount to thirty; and afterwards, one representative shall be added for every thirty thousand.

SECTION 8. Each branch of the Legislature shall be judge of the election returns and qualification of its own members. A majority of each shall be necessary to transact business, but a less number may adjourn from day to day and compel the attendance of absent members. Each House may adopt its own rules of proceedings, enforce order, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, may expel a member.

SECTION 9. Neither House shall adjourn for more than two days without the consent of the other; and both Houses shall always sit in the same town.

SECTION 10. Every bill or resolution which shall have passed both branches of the Legislature, shall, before it becomes a law, be laid before the President for his approval; if he approves, he shall sign it; if not, he shall return it to the Legislature with his objections. If the Legislature shall afterwards pass the bill or resolution by a vote of two-thirds in each branch it shall become a law. If the President shall neglect to return such

bill or resolution to the Legislature with his objections for five days after the same shall have been so laid before him, the Legislature remaining in session during that time, such neglect shall be equivalent to his signature.

SECTION 11. The Senators and Representatives shall receive from the Republic a compensation for their services to be ascertained by law; and shall be privileged from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, while attending at, going to, or returning from, the session of the Legislature.

ARTICLE III

EXECUTIVE POWER

SECTION 1. The supreme executive power shall be vested in a President, who shall be elected by the people, and shall hold his office for the term of two years. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He shall in the recess of the Legislature have power to call out the militia, or any portion thereof, into actual service in defence of the Republic. He shall have power to make treaties, provided the Senate concur therein by a vote of two-thirds of the senators present. He shall nominate, and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint and commission all ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls, secretaries of State, of War, of the Navy, and of the Treasury, Attorney General, all judges of courts, sheriffs, coroners, registers, marshals, justices of the peace, clerks of courts, notaries public, and all other officers of State,—civil and military, whose appointment may not be otherwise provided for by the Constitution, or by standing laws. And in the recess of the Senate, he may fill any vacancies in those offices, until the next session of the Senate. He shall receive all ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws are faithfully executed:—he shall inform the Legislature, from time to time, of the condition of the Republic, and recommend any public measures for their adoption which he may think expedient. He may, after conviction, remit any public forfeitures and penalties, and grant reprieves and pardons for public offences except in cases of impeachment. He may require information and advice from any public officer touching matters pertaining to his office. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the Legislature, and may adjourn the two Houses whenever they cannot agree as to the time of adjournment.

SECTION 2. There shall be a Vice-President who shall be elected in the same manner and for the same term as that of the President, and whose qualifications shall be the same; he shall be President of the Senate, and give the casting vote when the house is equally divided on any subject. And in the case of

the removal of the President from office, or his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Legislature may by law provide for the cases of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

SECTION 3. The Secretary of State shall keep the records of the State, and all the records and papers of the Legislative body, and all other public records and documents not belonging to any other department, and shall lay the same when required, before the President or Legislature. He shall attend upon them when required, and perform such other duties as may be enjoined by law.

SECTION 4. The Secretary of the Treasury, or other persons who may by law be charged with custody of public monies, shall, before he receive such monies, give bonds to the State, with sufficient sureties, to the acceptance of the Legislature, for the faithful discharge of his trust. He shall exhibit a true account of such monies when required by the President, or Legislature, and no monies shall be drawn from the Treasury, but by warrant from the President in consequence of appropriation made by law.

SECTION 5. All ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls, the Secretary of State, of War, of the Treasury, and of the Navy, the Attorney General and Post Master General, shall hold their office during the pleasure of the President. All justices of the peace, sheriffs, coroners, marshals, clerks of courts, registers, and notaries public, shall hold their offices for the term of two years from the date of their respective commissions; but they may be removed from office within that time by the President at his pleasure; and all other officers whose term of office shall not be otherwise limited by law, shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the President.

SECTION 6. Every civil officer may be removed from office by impeachment for official misconduct. Every such officer may also be removed by the President upon the address of both branches of the Legislature, stating their particular reason for his removal. No person shall be eligible to the office of President who has not been a citizen of this Republic for at least five years, and who shall not have attained the age of Thirty-five years, and who is not possessed of unencumbered real estate of the value of Six hundred dollars.

SECTION 7. The President shall at stated times receive for his services compensation which shall neither be increased nor

diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—

I do solemnly swear (or affirm), that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the Republic of Liberia, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution, and enforce the laws of the Republic of Liberia.

ARTICLE IV

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. The judicial power of this Republic shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and such subordinate courts as the Legislature may from time to time establish. The judges of the Supreme Court, and all other judges of courts, shall hold their office during good behaviour; but may be removed by the President, on the address of two-thirds of both houses for that purpose, or by impeachment, and conviction thereon. The judges shall have salaries established by law, which may be increased, but not diminished during their continuance in office. They shall not receive other perquisites, or emoluments whatever from parties, or others, on account of any duty required of them.

SECTION 2. The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors, or other public ministers and consuls, and those to which a country shall be a party. In all other cases the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and facts, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Legislature shall from time to time make.

ARTICLE V

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

All laws now in force in the Commonwealth of Liberia and not repugnant to the Constitution shall be in force as the laws of the Republic of Liberia until they shall be repealed by the Legislature.

SECTION 2. All judges, magistrates, and other officers now concerned in the administration of justice in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and all other existing civil and military officers therein, shall continue to hold and discharge the duties of their respective offices in the name and by the authority of the Republic until others shall be appointed and commissioned in their stead, pursuant to the Constitution.

SECTION 3. All towns and municipal corporations within the Republic, constituted under the laws of the Commonwealth of Liberia, shall retain their existing organizations and privileges, and the respective officers thereof shall remain in office and act under the authority of this Republic in the same manner and with like power as they now possess under the laws of said Commonwealth.

SECTION 4. The first election of President, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives, shall be held on the first Tuesday in October, in the year of Our Lord, Eighteen Hundred and Forty-seven, in the same manner as the election of members of the Council are held in the Commonwealth of Liberia; and the votes shall be certified and returned to the Colonial Secretary, and the result of the election shall be ascertained, posted, and notified by him, as is now by law provided, in case of such members of Council.

SECTION 5. All other elections of Presidents, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives, shall be held in the respective towns on the first Tuesday in May in every two years; to be held and regulated in such a manner as the Legislature may by law prescribe. The returns of votes shall be made to the Secretary of State, who shall open the same and forthwith issue notices of the election to the persons apparently so elected Senators and Representatives; and all such returns shall be by him laid before the Legislature at its next ensuing session, together with a list of the names of the persons who appear by such returns to have been duly elected Senators and Representatives; and the persons appearing by said returns to be duly elected shall proceed to organize themselves accordingly, as the Senate and House of Representatives. The votes for President shall be sorted, counted and declared by the House of Representatives; and if no person shall appear to have a majority of such votes, the Senators and Representatives present, shall, in convention, by joint ballot, elect from among the persons having the three highest number of votes, a person to act as President for the ensuing term.

SECTION 6. The Legislature shall assemble once at least in every year, and such meetings shall be on the first Monday in January, unless a different day shall be appointed by law.

SECTION 7. Every legislator and other officer appointed under this Constitution shall, before he enters upon the duties of his office, take and subscribe a solemn oath, or affirmation, to support the Constitution of this Republic, and faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of such office. The presiding officer of the Senate shall administer such oath or affirmation, to the President in Convention of both Houses; and the Presi-

dent shall administer the same to the Vice-President, to the Senators, and to the Representatives in like manner. When the President is unable to attend, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court may administer the oath, or affirmation to him at any place, and also to the Vice-President, Senators, and Representatives, in convention. Other officers may take such oath, or affirmation before the President, Chief Justice, or any other person who may be designated by law.

SECTION 8. All elections of public officers shall be made by a majority of the votes, except in cases otherwise regulated by the Constitution, or by law.

SECTION 9. Officers created by this Constitution, which the present circumstances of the Republic do not require that they shall be filled, shall not be filled until the Legislature shall deem it necessary.

SECTION 10. The property of which a woman may be possessed at the time of her marriage, and also that of which she may afterwards become possessed, otherwise than by her husband, shall not be held responsible for his debts, whether contracted before, or after marriage.

Nor shall the property thus intended to be secured to the woman be alienated otherwise than by her free and voluntary consent, and such alienation may be made by her either by sale, devise, or otherwise.

SECTION 11. In all cases in which estates are insolvent, the widow shall be entitled to one third of the real estate during her natural life, and to one third of the personal estate, which she shall hold in her own right, subject to alienation by her, by sale, devise, or otherwise.

SECTION 12. No person shall be entitled to hold real estate in this Republic unless he be a citizen of the same. Nevertheless this article shall not be construed to apply to colonization, missionary, educational, or other benevolent institutions, so long as the property, or estate is applied to its legitimate purpose.

SECTION 13. The great object of forming these colonies being to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa, and to regenerate and enlighten this benighted continent, none but persons of color shall be admitted to citizenship in this Republic.

SECTION 14. The purchase of any land by any citizen, or citizens from the aborigines of this country for his or their own use, or for the benefit of others, as estate or estates, in fee

simple, shall be considered null and void to all intents and purposes.

SECTION 15. The improvement of the native tribes and their advancement in the art of agriculture and husbandry being a cherished object of this government, it shall be the duty of the President to appoint in each county some discreet person whose duty it shall be to make regular and periodical tours through the country for the purpose of calling the attention of the natives to those wholesome branches of industry, and of instructing them in the same, and the Legislature shall, as soon as it can conveniently be done, make provisions for these purposes by the appropriation of money.

SECTION 16. The existing regulations of the American Colonization Society, in the Commonwealth, relative to immigrants, shall remain the same in the Republic until regulated by compact between the Society and the Republic; nevertheless, the Legislature shall make no law prohibiting emigration. And it shall be among the first duties of the Legislature, to take measures to arrange the future relations between the American Colonization Society and this Republic.

SECTION 17. This Constitution may be altered whenever two thirds of both branches of the Legislature, shall deem it necessary; in which case the alterations or amendments, shall first be considered and approved by the Legislature by the concurrence of two thirds of the members of each branch and afterwards by them submitted to the people, and adopted by two thirds of all the electors at the next biennial meeting for the election of Senators, and Representatives.

DONE in CONVENTION, at Monrovia in the County of Montserrado, by the unanimous consent of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, this Twenty-sixth day of July, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-seven, and of the REPUBLIC the first. In witness whereof we have hereto set our names.

(As before.)

AN ACT AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

1907

An Act proposing Sundry Amendments to the Constitution of Liberia.

It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled:—

SECTION 1. That the following Amendments shall become part of the National Constitution and be submitted to the people at the ensuing biennial election to be held on the first Tuesday in May, A. D. 1907, throughout the several counties of the Republic for their consideration and approval, or non-approval, and the ballot shall be written "adoption, or no adoption."

SECTION 2. That Article 3rd, Section 1st be made to read, "The supreme executive power shall be vested in a President, who shall be elected by the people and shall hold his office for the term of four years and be elected quadrennially."

SECTION 3. That Article 2nd, Section 2nd, after the words "Twenty-three years" be made to read, The Representatives shall be elected quadrennially and shall serve for four years from the time of their election.

SECTION 4. That Article 2nd, Section 5th, after the words, "Twenty-five" be made to read "The Senators shall serve for six years and shall be elected quadrennially, and those elected May, A. D. 1905, shall retain their seat for six years, from the time of their election, and all who are afterwards elected, six years.

SECTION 5. That when a vacancy occurs in the office of Vice-President by death, resignation or otherwise, after the regular election of the President and Vice-President, the President shall immediately order a special election to fill said vacancy.

SECTION 6. That Article 5th, Section 13th be made to read "None but Negroes or persons of Negro descent, shall be eligible to citizenship in this Republic."

SECTION 7. That Section 3rd, of Article 4th, be made to read, "The judges of the Supreme Court shall be the Chief and two Associate Justices."

Any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

SUGGESTIONS

Made by the Liberian Government to the American
Commission in 1909

1. That the Government of the United States be requested to guarantee as far as practicable the independence and integrity of Liberia, either alone or in conjunction with certain European powers.

2. To advise and counsel the Government of Liberia on international affairs and with respect to reforms.

3. The Government of the United States be requested to liquidate the foreign and local indebtedness of the Republic, taking over the control of its financial and customs administrations for a period of years sufficient to effect a reorganization and systematization of same under American experts and allowing to the Republic an annual sum to be hereinafter agreed upon for the payment of the expenses of the Government and for internal improvements until the amount advanced by the United States for the liquidation of the indebtedness of the Republic be paid.

4. That the United States Government be requested to furnish the Republic with experts for service in such departments of government as may be deemed necessary—at the expense of the latter—in order to facilitate and carry out the necessary reforms.

5. That the Government of the United States be requested to use its good offices in inducing American capitalists—either in conjunction with foreign capitalists or alone—to establish a bank in Liberia which shall receive the revenues of the Republic and make advances to the Government upon terms to be agreed upon, and also to construct and run railways and other improvements.

6. That the Government of the United States be requested to enter into an arbitration treaty with Liberia, and to use its good and kind offices with the European powers interested in West Africa to enter into similar engagements with the Republic.

7. That the American Government be requested to use their good offices to secure the equitable execution of the boundary arrangements entered into between the Government of Liberia and the Government of Great Britain and France, especially to assist the Government of Liberia diplomatically to secure possession of the Kanre Lahun section and other sections in the north of Liberia, now occupied by Great Britain, which by the Anglo-Liberian boundary commission were acknowledged to this Republic, as well as the securing to Liberia the hinterland recognized as Liberian by the conventions concluded between her and France, but which has been materially altered to the detriment of Liberia by the delimitation commission of 1908-9.

8. That the Government of the United States be requested to undertake a scientific research of the country with the view of ascertaining a more accurate knowledge of its mineral, vegetable, and other resources, and to interest American capitalists in the development of the same; and also to aid the Government of Liberia in the establishment of a school for scientific medical research with particular reference to the study of tropical diseases.

9. To aid the Government of Liberia in establishing industrial schools in one or more of the counties of the Republic with

a view of promoting a knowledge of such trades and industries as will render the Republic self-reliant.

10. To aid in establishing civilized centers on the frontiers and hinterland in order to accelerate the uplifting and improvement of the natives and perpetuate the object of the American founders of Liberia.

11. To supervise the organization of a police and frontier force under American officers.

12. To request the United States war ships to visit Liberia annually, or oftener.

13. It is the anxious desire of Liberia that closer business relations and a substantial sail or steam service be established between the mother country and ours, and to this end we earnestly ask that the United States will encourage and foster a regular line of steamers (by an American company) to carry mails and passengers to and from Liberia as well as African produce to the American markets.

14. The Government of Liberia here express its willingness to concede to the Government of the United States any rights and privileges for the construction of coaling stations or any other enterprises which she may deem necessary to enter upon that would be beneficial to the people and Government of the United States, the same not being inconsistent with existing treaty stipulations with other foreign powers.

LIBERIAN OFFICIALS

AGENTS AND GOVERNORS

Eli Ayres *	1822
Frederick James	1822
Elijah Johnson	1822
Jehudi Ashman *	1822
Lott Carey	1823
Richard Randall *	1823
William Mechlin *	1829
John B. Pinney *	1834
Ezekiel Skinner *	1835
A. D. Williams	1836
Thomas Buchanan *	1839
Joseph J. Roberts	1841

GOVERNORS OF MARYLAND

James Hall *	1834
J. B. Russwurm	1836
S. F. McGill	1851
William A. Prout	1854
B. J. Drayton	1856

* Indicates white men.

PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE REPUBLIC

Joseph J. Roberts, Monrovia.....	1848	Nathaniel Brandes
		A. D. Williams
Stephen A. Benson, Buchanan....	1856	Stephen A. Benson
		Benjamin Y. Yates
		Daniel B. Warner
Daniel B. Warner, Monrovia.....	1864	James Priest
James S. Payne, Monrovia.....	1868	Joseph Gibson
Edward J. Roye, Monrovia.....	1870	James S. Smith
Joseph J. Roberts, Monrovia.....	1872	Anthony W. Gardner
James S. Payne, Monrovia.....	1876	Charles Harmon
Anthony W. Gardner, Monrovia...	1878	
(Alfred F. Russell).....	1883	Alfred F. Russell
Hilary Richard Wright Johnson,		
Monrovia	1884	James Thompson
Joseph J. Cheeseman, Edina.....	1892	William D. Coleman
William D. Coleman, Clay-Ashland.	1896	Joseph J. Ross
Garretson W. Gibson, Monrovia...	1902	Joseph Summerville
Arthur Barclay, Monrovia.....	1904	Joseph Summerville
.....	1908	James J. Dossen
Daniel E. Howard, Monrovia.....	1912	Samuel G. Harmon

SECRETARIES OF STATE

Hilary Teague	H. R. W. Johnson	A. Barclay
J. N. Lewis	J. E. Moore	W. V. Gibson
D. B. Warner	W. M. Davis	(<i>pro tem</i>)
E. W. Blyden	Ernest Barclay	H. W. Travis
J. W. Blackledge	G. W. Gibson	

NATIONAL ANTHEM

All hail, Liberia, hail!
This glorious land of liberty
Shall long be ours.
Tho' new her name,
Green be her fame,
And mighty be her powers.

In joy and gladness, with our hearts united,
We'll shout the freedom of a race benighted.
Long live Liberia, happy land.
A home of glorious liberty by God's command.

All hail! Liberia, hail!
In union strong, success is sure.
We cannot fail.
With God above,
Our rights to prove,
We will the world assail.

With heart and hand our country's cause defending
We meet the foe, with valor unpretending.
Long live Liberia, happy land,
A home of glorious liberty by God's command.



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